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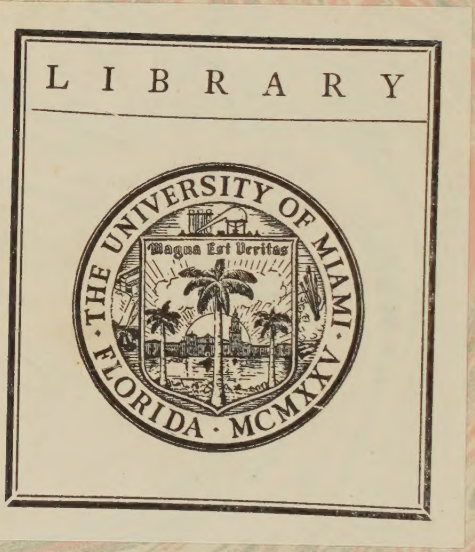

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William R.

Engraved by B. Holl from an original Painting by A. Wivell

MEMOIRS

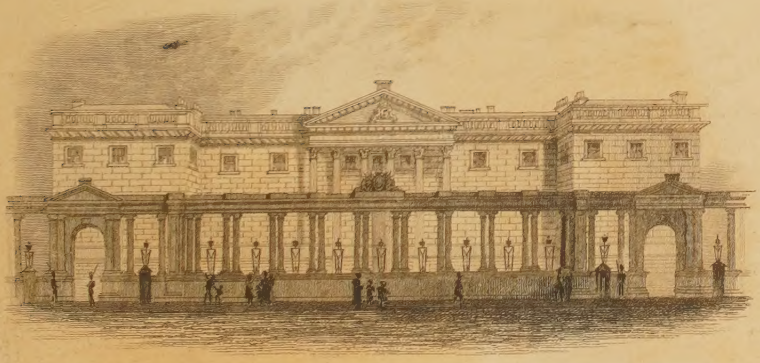
of

GEORGE THE FOURTH.

By

ROBERT HUISH.

VOL. II.



CARLTON PALACE.
FAVORITE RESIDENCE OF GEORGE 4TH

LONDON:
Published by Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row.
1831.

MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE THE FOURTH,

DESCRIPTIVE OF THE

MOST INTERESTING SCENES

OF HIS

Private and Public Life,

AND THE

IMPORTANT EVENTS OF HIS MEMORABLE REIGN;

WITH CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES OF ALL THE

CELEBRATED MEN

WHO

WERE HIS FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS AS A PRINCE,

AND

HIS MINISTERS AND COUNSELLORS AS A MONARCH.

COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND DOCUMENTS IN THE KING'S LIBRARY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, &c.

By ROBERT HUISH,

Author of Kelly's celebrated Memoirs of the Princess Charlotte, Life of George III. Memoirs of Queen Caroline, &c.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. KELLY, PATERNOSTER-ROW; FISHER, SON, AND P. JACKSON, NEWGATE-STREET; JONES AND CO., TEMPLE OF THE MUSES, FINSBURY-SQUARE; AND G. VIRTUE, IVY-LANE.

MDCCCXXX.

one, legally or morally possesses the right of condemnation, much less the infliction of positive punishment.

It has not fallen to our lot, in the progress of this work, frequently to pass an eulogium on the actions of royalty. Kings are beings very different from other men; their sensations are of another kind; their exemptions from the general lot of hardships in some degree attending all other situations, make them strangers to commiseration and sensibility; the pleasures of friendship are exchanged for those of flattery and obsequiousness; the nature of their education is calculated to destroy all natural disposition—at least the effects are the same as if it were a part of the plan; they begin so early to live by rules of art, that they are in masquerade the whole of their lives; whether their design be to oblige or offend, they are equally under the necessity of employing artifice. There is no other rank in life that can be so generally defined, because there is no order of men who are framed so much alike, and have such a sameness in so many respects.

It is said that in one of the royal cabinets on the Continent, the names of all the patriot kings or demi-gods, who have reigned since the commencement of history, are written in the circumference of a silver penny, and that there is still a vacancy for more. Although George IV. will not find a place there, we have some hope that the next will be William IV. of England.

The traveller who has been plodding his weary way through the dark gloom and solitude of the forest, feels his heart cheered and spirits enlivened, when at a distance he beholds the faint glimmerings of light, the harbinger of brighter scenes and purer, substantial joys; so the historian, who has been depicting the tragic scenes of human life, emanating from the turbulence of passion or deep-rooted vice, feels himself relieved as if from some oppressive burden, when some spotless and fairy object comes before him, in which he can trace the purer virtues of the Christian character, even if that object appears but for the moment, and then vanishes for ever.

There is a tie of the human heart in which is concentred all that ennobles its nature—all that gives a charm to social life; the founder and the preserver of domestic happiness. It is the love of the parent for the child, the love of the child for the

parent; but when the hour arrives in which that tie is to be for ever broken for this world, then the heart grows sick, reason staggers on its throne, and falls, perhaps never to be revived. In the contemplation of the latter scene, we would not breathe a whisper that should disturb the awful solemnity of the spectacle—a father, whose reason has fled over the grave of a much-loved child, is a sacred being; he carries with him a passport through the world, to the sympathy and compassion of every feeling heart; and in that character we must now view the afflicted George III. The death of his youngest daughter Amelia, which took place at Windsor, on the 2nd of November, 1810, broke the last hold of his already tottering reason, and removed him, as it were, into a world of his own, peopled by his own creations, but desolate, dark, and dreary to all by whom he was surrounded.

The character of the Princess Amelia shines amidst the vices of royalty with a redeeming light; and the contrast is the greater, as the occurrence is so rare. Dignified, though condescending—benevolent, without ostentation—lively, though a prey to sickness, which usually quenches the spirits, as well as the health of youth—she was beloved by all who lived within the sphere of hearing of her virtues. In performing the duties of humanity and benevolence, she was indefatigable; and the grateful sympathy with which all her acts of this nature were performed was not less soothing and gratifying than the actual tribute of her kindness. In the relations of domestic life, nothing could exceed her attention, assiduity, and affection. The last act of her filial tenderness evinced that it was not in the power of sickness, severely as it operated on her, to lessen the amiable temper of her mind; for, languid as she was at some periods, and tortured by pain at others, a desire of testifying her affection for the best of fathers was one of the strongest feelings of her heart. She wished to present her royal father with a token of her filial duty and affection; and she had the satisfaction of placing on his finger a ring made by her own directions for the express purpose, containing a small lock of her hair, inclosed under a crystal tablet, set round with a few sparks of diamonds, accompanied by the impressive words—*Remember me.* This scene proved

too much for the agitated monarch, already weakened by many severe trials; and the indisposition, both bodily and mental, which ensued, involved the nation in sorrow, and rendered it necessary that Parliament should turn its attention to the subject of a regency.

We shall enter, minutely and fully, into the history of this most interesting and important event, whether we regard it in its origin, nature, or consequences, in order that it may be transmitted to posterity with all that regularity and precision which so momentous a circumstance deserves and demands.

At the close of the year 1810, it was generally known that the exercise of the royal functions was suspended, by a recurrence of that malady with which his Majesty had been afflicted in 1788.

Although his Majesty had prorogued the parliament to the 1st day of November, 1810, it was understood and well known that this was not the period intended for the commencement of business, but that a further prorogation was determined on, of which, indeed, notice had been given in the Gazette. This, however, could only be effected by a commission signed by the King; and when the moment arrived, his Majesty was so much indisposed as to be unable to affix his signature; accordingly, exertions were made to obtain as large an attendance as possible in both houses. On the meeting of the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor stated, with great concern, that the personal indisposition of his Majesty was such at the present time, that he did not think it his duty, under the circumstances, to proffer to his Sovereign a commission to receive the sign manual; and he concluded by moving that the House, at its rising, should adjourn to the 15th day of November.

The House of Commons was, on the same day, placed in the unprecedented situation of proceeding to business, although an official notice of a prorogation had been given; but no commission having been signed for that purpose, the Speaker was obliged to take the chair. A similar motion for adjournment to that made in the House of Lords was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, being seconded by Mr. Sheridan, the motion was carried.

On the 15th the two Houses met, pursuant to the adjournment, when a motion was made for a further adjournment to the 29th, which motion, after some slight objections from the Opposition, was ultimately carried. On the question of the second adjournment, Mr. Sheridan, however, to the utter surprise of his own party, turned round and voted with the majority. Mr. Sheridan was known at that time to be the organ of the Prince in the House, and deductions were drawn from the conduct of Sheridan, in regard to the temper and views of the Prince with respect to the regency. As an interesting document, which will prepare our readers for the sequel of this important business, we transcribe a letter written at this period by Sheridan to the Prince of Wales; and it having cost us much trouble to obtain, we regret that we have been anticipated in the publication of it by the biographer of Sheridan.

'SIR,

'I felt infinite satisfaction when I was apprized that your Royal Highness had been far from disapproving the line of conduct I had presumed to pursue on the last question of adjournment in the House of Commons. Indeed, I never had a moment's doubt but that your Royal Highness would give me credit that I was actuated in that, as I shall be on every other occasion through my existence, by no possible motive but the most unmixed and sincere desire to look to your Royal Highness' honour and true interest as the objects of my political life—directed, as I am sure your efforts will ever be, to the essential interests of the country and the constitution. To this line of conduct I am prompted by every motive of personal gratitude, and confirmed by every opportunity which peculiar circumstances and long experience have afforded me, of judging of *your heart and understanding, to the superior excellence of which (beyond all, I believe, that ever stood in your rank and high relation to society) I fear not to advance my humble testimony**, because I

* The passage printed in Italics is particularly deserving of notice, as, ere long, it will be seen that the same individual who now boasted of the superior excellence of the royal heart was left to languish out a miserable existence, surrounded by duns and bailiffs, forgotten and neglected by those whom he had served to the destruction of his own character and resources. If ever there was a life which ought to be held forth as a warning voice to those who rely on the smiles and protestations of royalty, that life is the life of Sheridan. A drop of oil, it is true, was sent when the lamp was nearly out; but the lateness of the gift, added to its

scruple not to say for myself that I am no flatterer, and that I never found that to *become* one was the road to your real regard.

'I state thus much, because it has been under the influence of these feelings that I have not felt myself warranted (without any previous communication with your Royal Highness) to follow implicitly the dictates of others, in whom, however they may be my superiors in many qualities, I subscribe to no superiority as to devoted attachment and duteous affection to your Royal Highness, nor in that practical knowledge of the public mind and character upon which alone must be built that popular and personal estimation of your Royal Highness, so necessary to your future happiness and glory, and to the prosperity of the nation you are destined to govern over.

'On these grounds I saw no policy, no consistency, in unnecessarily giving a general sanction to the examination of the physicians before the council, and then attempting, on the question of adjournment, to hold that examination as nought. On these grounds I have ventured to doubt the wisdom or propriety of any endeavour (if any such endeavour has been made) to induce your Royal Highness, during so critical a moment, to stir an inch from the strong reserved post you had chosen, or give the slightest public demonstration of any future intended political preferences; convinced as I was, that the rule of conduct you had prescribed to yourself was precisely that which was gaining you the general heart, and rendering it impracticable for any quarter to succeed in annexing unworthy conditions to that most difficult situation which you are probably so soon to be called on to accept.

'I may, Sir, have been guilty of error of judgment in both these respects, differing, as I fear I have done, from those whom I am bound so highly to respect; but, at the same time, I deem it no presumption to say, that, *until better instructed*, I feel a strong confidence in the justness of my own view on this subject; and simply because of this—I am sure that the decisions of that judgment, be they sound or mistaken, have not, at least, been rashly taken up, but were founded on deliberate zeal for your service and glory, unmixed, I will confidently say, with any one selfish object or political purpose of my own.'

On the meeting of parliament, on the 29th, Lord Camden

scantiness, only tended to wound still deeper the feelings of the dying man, and to lacerate the heartstrings, which a more bountiful donation would have kept from breaking.

stated, that examinations had taken place before his Majesty's Privy Council, of the physicians who attended the royal person, and the result of these examinations was, that it was the unanimous opinion of all his Majesty's physicians, that though his Majesty was incapable of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business, yet they entertained the most confident hopes of his recovery, but were unable to state at what period he might become convalescent.

This statement was followed by a motion for the adjournment of the House to the 13th of December, which met with considerable opposition, but was ultimately carried. On this occasion the Lord Chancellor made the following most extraordinary remarks, which although, strictly speaking, they may be considered as truly constitutional, yet they tended, in a great degree, to open the eyes of the Prince's party to the ulterior views of ministers as connected with the establishment of a regency, and to the conditions which were to be annexed to it. The Prince of Wales, according to the showing of the Lord Chancellor, was not to be invested with any powers arising from the *incompetency* of the sovereign, but merely as an individual, acting under the controul and responsibility of the ministers.

It was in reply to some strong remarks made by Lord Grenville, on the unconstitutional power of ministers, acting independently of the crown, that the Lord Chancellor said that, according to the spirit of our laws, the Sovereign is King in infancy, in age, in decrepitude. If you take away what the law gives him, you change the name and authority of the King, by the sanction and authority of which name you can alone rightly act. The King's political capacity, he would again repeat, continues the same in infancy, in sickness, in age, and in decrepitude. No subject can be considered in the same light. *God forbid that the two Houses should declare the King incompetent.* Much might be said on a question of this nature, but it never was to be allowed that such a power rested in the Privy Council.

By this memorable exposition of the powers of the Sovereign the Privy Council, at whose head the King is supposed to sit in person, and from whose decisions issue some of the most

important enactments by which the jurisprudence of the country is supported; this same august body, second to none in the empire, were told that they had no power to declare the incompetency of the individual who presided at their head; and that they could act with the same legality and authority, in the event of such incompetency, as if no such calamity had befallen the individual, and that no suspension whatever existed to the exercise of the royal functions. It was a startling doctrine, and made that lively sensation (as our neighbours the French would call it) at Carlton House, which, in the end, threw many obstacles in the adjustment of those points which the extraordinary case required.

The question of a regency in an hereditary monarchical government, is at at all times a dangerous subject for the statesman to handle. It carries with it the pre-supposition, that a King, in the abstract sense, can be represented as well by the log as by the stork which Jupiter sent to the frogs; or that it is only setting up one person in the place of another, and calling him a King—and a King he is. Some strong insinuations of this kind were broached in the House of Commons in the various debates on the regency question, particularly by Mr. Whitbread, who, being in opposition to the measures of ministers, unequivocally declared, that the acts of ministers went to show, that the affairs of the country could be equally well managed, although the monarch was in a state of positive incompetency.

Before, however, we enter upon the immediate question of the regency, as connected with the proceedings in parliament, it may not be improper, nor without its use, for the better recollection and understanding of the subject in all its parts and relations, to state shortly the principles on which those who brought forward and carried the restrictions on the Regent, and those who opposed them, severally founded and supported their doctrines and opinions.

The minister and his adherents set out with this short and simple maxim, that a regent is not a king; that in every respect and point of view, whether considered relatively to common sense, to justice, or to the fundamental and essential doctrines of the British constitution, each condition is, and

ought to be, radically distinct; that whereas the powers of the King were full, complete, and his own, so far as by the exercise of them he sought after, and secured the good of the people over whom he reigned — a Regent was merely a person appointed to act for another, to whom ought to be granted all those authorities, powers, and prerogatives, which were necessary to enable him to supply the place and perform the duty of his principal; but from whom ought carefully and sacredly to be kept every kind of authority, power, or prerogative, which could possibly be exercised in such a manner by the Regent as might endanger the easy and full resumption by his principal of his legitimate rights, or tend in the smallest degree to embarrass or weaken the exercise of them when actually resumed. Besides this grand and leading principle, on the strength and justice of which they contended, that the royal prerogative of creating peers more especially should be cut off from the powers vested in the Regent,—ministers and their adherents maintained, that not a little was due to the personal feelings and comfort of the King; that however abstract reasoning might underrate or hold in contempt such an idea, yet it was neither possible, nor if possible, would it have been consonant to common justice or humanity, to throw entirely aside in the consideration of the question, and in the arrangement of the particular authorities to be vested in the Regent, all regard to what the King might be supposed to have wished, could he have expressed his wishes, and what it was highly probable he would feel when restored to the exercise of his reason. Upon this subordinate principle, which certainly carried along with it every feeling man and loyal subject, and which was well calculated to create a favourable impression on the public mind towards those who promulgated and supported it; while, on the contrary, it was dangerous to oppose it, lest the imputation of a want of feeling or loyalty should make a prejudice against the constitutional doctrines on which it might have been successfully combated :—upon this principle ministers contended, that the household of his Majesty should be left untouched by the powers of the Regent. The appointment of the person, to whom the care of the King was to be committed, arose from a mixture of both the prin-

ciples which we have just stated; on the first and grand principle it was contended, with certainly very great cogency and strength of argument, that it would be highly improper to commit the custody and care of the King's person to the Regent—to one whose interest so evidently and strongly lay in the continued illness of the King; while on the subordinate principle, it was maintained that the King's recovery would most probably be retarded, if in his lucid intervals he was informed that the Regent had the care of his person; and that on his perfect recovery, his satisfaction and comfort would be much more complete, if he found that his consort, and not the heir-apparent, had watched over his malady.

Such may be regarded as a rapid and brief outline of the principles on which ministers and their adherents grounded their resolutions that certain restrictions should be imposed on the Regent, and on which they proceeded in their selection and defence of the restrictions which they proposed and carried. Some objections may certainly be made to the principles themselves: and others of greater weight, or, at least, of greater plausibility, to the application of them to the particular restrictions imposed on the Regent. But these objections will assume a less formidable appearance when the difficulties attending an opposite line of conduct are considered. It was, in fact, a choice of difficulties, a most embarrassing and critical situation, in which the country was placed; and, unfortunately, out of this labyrinth, precedent afforded no clue which could conduct parliament with certainty and safety.

The principles on which the opposition grounded their doctrines and arguments bore very much the appearance, and possessed, indeed, in a great degree, the reality, of genuine British principles. They contended, in the first place (and upon this point they laid very great stress, and insisted loudly and repeatedly), that the good of the nation, and not the comfort or feelings of the King, was alone to be regarded, and ought alone to be suffered to enter into the consideration of the question: that the prerogatives and powers of which it was proposed to deprive the Regent were either beneficial to the community, or they were not. Powers vested in a

sovereign, they insisted, could not be without some effect: if they were not beneficial to the people over whom he reigned, they could not be harmless; but, in either case, whether these prerogatives and powers which ministers proposed to cut off from the authority of the Regent were beneficial or hurtful, their principles and arguments must fall to the ground. If they were calculated, and could only be exercised to produce the good of the nation, then parliament had no right, under any plea, to strip the person exercising the supreme authority, for ever so short a time, of them; or even to curtail or weaken them in the slightest manner. If they were prejudicial, then they ought not to be granted nor continued, either to the Sovereign or the Regent. This dilemma certainly was very embarrassing; nor did ministers meet it directly or fairly. Indeed, this important question can hardly be said to have been argued in a complete and full manner, either by ministers or by the opposition. When the former dwelt with great force of argument, and with much appearance of triumph, on the necessity of guarding the easy and full resumption of the royal authority; the opposition, instead of meeting this branch of the argument directly face to face, turned aside and declaimed eloquently, and, in their turn, with great triumph, on the necessity, for the good of the nation, of vesting in the Regent all the royal prerogatives, as the British constitution could suppose none given, but what were absolutely necessary for the grand object of all legitimate government, the liberty and well-being of the people. Ministers, perceiving that this was not only a popular way of treating the subject, but that it rested on specious, if not on solid arguments, turned aside from it, and again brought into play the necessity of guarding the powers and prerogatives of the Sovereign, the permanent and real magistrate, against the encroachments of a temporary and delegated regent.

In one respect, the opposition pushed their arguments against the ministerial party with considerable vigour, acuteness, and success; and this point, thus successfully brought forward, had considerable weight with the mass of the people. They contended that the very principle on which ministers rested their leading doctrine, that the power of a regent

ought to be restricted, namely, that otherwise he might and would have the means of rendering the resumption of the royal authority difficult, and the subsequent exercise of it cramped, —ought to lead ministers to take away from the Regent all control over the army, and the prerogative of dissolving parliament, since it was easy to conceive how these, in the hands of a person disposed to abuse his delegated and temporary authority, might be turned more dangerously and successfully against the Sovereign, than the prerogative of creating peers, or removing any or all of the royal household. The opposition put this argument in all possible shapes, and dwelt upon it at great length, and with much triumph, and it must be confessed, that by thus pushing the fundamental principle of the ministry to its complete and legitimate consequences, they effected one of two objects: they made out either that the principle was erroneous and unfounded, or that ministers were inconsistent in their application and use of it.

Such is a brief sketch of the leading doctrines broached by the two great parties in parliament, on the great and difficult question respecting the powers which, consistently with the spirit of the British constitution, ought to be vested in a Regent. But there was a third party in parliament, more formidable for the boldness with which they promulgated and defended their opinions, and for the weight and influence which they possessed with a great portion of the people, than for their numerical strength, who, though they in general coincided with the opposition in their main view of the question, yet placed it in other points of light in which the regular opponents of ministry either durst not or were not disposed to consider it. The party alluded to, was that of which Sir Francis Burdett was regarded as the head and the leader:—this party did not hesitate nor scruple to maintain in the most open and undisguised manner, that ministers, by suffering government to go on so long stripped of the royal authority, and virtually of the person of the Sovereign, had given a practical proof of the truth of the assertions made by the most violent republicans, and particularly by their champion, Thomas Paine, that the royal authority was not necessary either to the well-being or existence of government; and they added, that if the Regent

actually did assume and carry on the executive power without all the prerogatives which the constitution had given to the Sovereign, that would be a glaring and practical proof, that more prerogatives than were necessary to the well-being of the state had been lodged with the sovereign, and a sufficient reason to deprive him of the future possession of them. So far the doctrines and opinions held by this party were such as might have been expected from them, and in perfect consistence with their fundamental principles, and with their former professions and conduct. But when they proceeded to intermix high expectations of the Prince Regent, and to declare that from him they expected a line of conduct that would, to use their own language, restore the constitution to its original purity and force, it was scarcely possible not to entertain a suspicion that they hoped, by expressing expectations they did not entertain, to draw the Prince over to their party, and to extract that by flattery from him which they did not look for from principle or inclination.

Having thus given a concise exposition of the leading principles of the several parties in parliament on this momentous business, we shall now proceed to lay before our readers an epitome of those proceedings in parliament, which terminated in the establishment of the Prince of Wales as Regent of these realms.

After several adjournments, the House of Commons met on the 20th December, when the House having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole on the state of the nation, the following resolutions were moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

'1. That it is the opinion of this House, That his Majesty is prevented by indisposition from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business, and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby for the present interrupted.

'2. That it is the opinion of this House, That it is the right and duty of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain now assembled, and lawfully, fully and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his Majesty's said indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require.

'3. Resolved, That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, it is necessary that the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition.'

On the reading of the third resolution, an amendment was moved by Mr. Ponsonby to the following effect:—

'That a humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, requesting that his Royal Highness will be pleased to take upon him, during the indisposition of the King, and no longer, the government of this realm; and administer the same in the name and in the behalf of his Majesty, under the style and title of Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.'

This amendment was lost by a majority of 112, but it had the special tendency of exposing the views of the Prince's party, as it was supported by those members who were known to stand the highest in the confidence and favour of his Royal Highness; and, further, it had the untoward effect of arousing the vigilance of the ministerial party in regard to the support of the restrictions, which were shortly to be submitted to the consideration of parliament.

On the same day, in the House of Peers, the question of the resolutions was agitated in a cursory way, owing to some questions put by Lord Holland, respecting the course intended to be pursued by the existing administration; but it was not until the 27th, that the resolutions were formally moved by the Earl of Liverpool, and which drew from the Duke of Sussex one of the most virulent speeches against ministers which had ever been pronounced upon the subject. It arose in support of the following amendment to the third resolution moved by Lord Holland.

'That his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being of mature age, be requested to take upon himself the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition, and no longer.

'That an address, founded on this resolution, be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself the government aforesaid; and that it be at the same time, and in the same manner, communicated to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, that it is further the opinion of this Committee, that it will be expedient to abstain from the exercise of all such powers as the immediate exigencies of the state shall not call into action, until parliament shall have passed a bill or bills for the future care of his Majesty's royal person, during his Majesty's present indisposition, and the securing to his Majesty, whenever it shall please Divine Providence to restore his health, the resumption of his royal authority.'

Our limits will not allow us to give verbatim the manly speech of his Royal Highness, but the following detached parts will fully exhibit its genuine tone and temper.

'My Lords, if I understand anything of the constitution of my country, the ministers of the Sovereign are a set of men whom the King calls to his councils, and therefore are they styled his confidential servants. They are to take the pleasure of their Sovereign, to advise him upon all matters wherein the welfare and interests of his people are concerned, to the best of their knowledge and judgment, for which they are responsible to parliament. In consequence of their representations, his Majesty commands them how to act; and for the execution of these royal commands, they are equally amenable to the grand tribunal of the empire.

'Now, then, my Lords, are we to allow ourselves to be persuaded, dare those ministers assert, that they have acted as they would have advised their royal master, whom they have not seen for these last eight weeks, with whom they have had no personal communication, who has no free will of his own, and who is separated from all the tenderest ties of nature? My Lords, if these late courageous ministers have acted, they have usurped a power which they have no right to exercise. If they have been frightened—*if they have hesitated—if they have stumbled*, and not acted, why then, my Lords, they are equally treasonable for allowing the magistracy of royalty to be suspended for such a length of time; which is a situation the constitution can never know, and, of course, can never

acknowledge. It is a shock the most dreadful, the most deadly, the constitution has ever received since the period of the Revolution.

'My Lords, the Sovereign is a sole corporation; he never dies; he enjoys a political immortality. In attempting, therefore, the destruction of this grand constitutional principle, these late ministers of his Majesty have committed a regicide act against the magistracy of royalty.

'My Lords, I hear of restrictions in the regency. I say, my Lords, these restrictions cannot, must not be. If you feel the necessity of a regent, he must have full powers, and not be the very mummery or mockery of royalty; which is the system ministers are anxious to adopt. He must be, my Lords, an efficient magistrate, with those prerogatives which the common law of England assigns to a king, and which the people of the United Kingdom have a right to demand. The law has frequently provided a remedy of a regency for the infancy of our kings. So if a king should fall into such an unfortunate situation as assimilates him to that position, then the estates of the realm may, upon the parity of the case, seek the remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the power in a regent. And as, in the weakness of infancy, a prince regent has always, in law, had the same power with the king, who has not, or, from misfortunes, cannot have a will, therefore, the Regent's will is the same as the King's will, and consequently the power ought, and must be the same—but with this security, that, in the exercise of his important functions, the right of the Sovereign is owned by the Regent to remain in the King, and that he becomes the crown guardian of those rights.

'Feeling as I do at this moment, my Lords, I cannot conclude otherwise than by imploring your Lordships to pay your most serious attention to a subject in which the vital parts of our constitution are concerned, and in quoting the words of a late learned Lord who filled the woolsack at the former and similar momentous period of 1788—"May God forget me, if I forget my King!"—and to which pious and fervent ejaculation I must further add with equal devotion—May God forget me, if I forget the constitution of this country!—that

constitution which placed my family upon the throne of these realms; that constitution which has been long our pride, and the envy of all surrounding nations; and, for the want of which blessing, they have all been confounded into one horrible mass of anarchy, ruin, and despair, while we stand secure of revolutions, firm as a rock; as a great beacon of civil, constitutional, and religious liberty, in the midst of a subjugated and desolated world; that constitution for which my family have pledged themselves to live and die.'

The Duke of York followed on the same side; but his speech, in point of argument, was merely an echo of some of the sentiments so ably expressed by his royal brother.

We are now arrived at the important point of the celebrated restrictions which were imposed on the Prince of Wales, as Regent; and which, although accepted of, and acted under, were well known not to be very palatable to his Royal Highness, nor agreeable to those who expected to profit by the exercise of an unlimited power. On the 31st of December, the House of Commons, after a conference with the Lords, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the state of the nation, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and stated, that the resolutions declaring the King's incapacity to exercise the royal functions having been agreed to by the Lords, it now remained for the Commons to consider of the measures that were proper to be adopted, to supply the defect in the executive government. He then stated, it would be his duty to submit a proposition to the House, calling upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to take upon him the exercise of the royal authority, subject to certain restrictions in the use of it, and which restrictions it was intended should be limited in point of duration. He would propose, in the first place, that the Regent should not have the power of creating peers; in the second, that he should be debarred from granting places or pensions for life; and the third restriction would apply to making provision for the custody of his Majesty's person, which, he would propose, should be confided to the Queen, and a council nominated to assist her. He, therefore, accordingly, moved the first resolution as follows:—

'Resolved, That for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and administer the royal authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, and under the style and title of Regent of the kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, that belong to the King of this realm to use, execute, and perform, according to the law thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.'

Having entered fully into the principles of that resolution, he proceeded to read the following ones.

'Resolved, That the care of his Majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, shall be committed to the Queen's most excellent Majesty; and that her Majesty shall have the power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his Majesty's household; and to dispose, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid; and that, for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient that a council shall be appointed to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters aforesaid; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine, upon oath, the physicians and others attending his Majesty's person, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relating thereto.

'Resolved, That the power so to be given to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to—(persons who have rendered eminent service to the country, by sea or land.)

'Resolved, That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life or during good behaviour, and except—(An exception will

here be introduced in favour of persons rendering eminent services to the country by sea or land.)

'Resolved, That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any part of his Majesty's real or personal estate, except as far as relates to the renewal of leases.'

To the first of these resolutions an amendment was moved by the Honourable Mr. W. Lambe, to leave out all the words which contained the restrictions: it was however lost by the trifling majority of 24; and in a division respecting the second resolution, the majority was only 16. The fourth resolution, respecting the King's private property, was unanimously agreed to, and the consideration of the fifth resolution was postponed to the following day.

On that day, 1st January, 1811, the House met, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer briefly recapitulated the arguments which he had previously used, recommendatory of the adoption of the resolutions, when Earl Gower moved an amendment, to leave out certain words in the second resolution, after the words 'Queen's most excellent Majesty,' respecting the power of the Queen in removals, &c., and to insert words to the following effect, 'together with the sole direction of such persons and establishment, as are suitable in the present circumstances to the care of the King's sacred person and royal dignity.'

The speeches of Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Whitbread, in support of this amendment, and in annulling every restriction whatever upon the Regent, made a powerful impression upon the House, and on a division taking place, ministers were left in a majority against them of 13.

On the following day, Lord Porchester moved as an amendment to the first resolution, that the words 'subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall hereafter be provided,' be left out.

On this amendment the brilliant powers of Sheridan were exerted with extraordinary effect; he entered into a far more extensive view of the subject than any of the speakers who had preceded him, and the character which he drew in this speech of Buonaparte will always stand on record as one of the most forcible delineations which was ever drawn of that extraordi-

nary man. He closed his speech with these memorable words—'Whatever are my hopes and views of reform, I say now, as I have ever said, that we are struggling to preserve a condition of society far above that which the other civilized nations of the world have attained. Is this then the moment to fetter or restrict the constitutional powers of him whom the public voice has unanimously called to preside over our destiny during the unhappy indisposition of his Sovereign and father? Shall we send him forth with a broken shield and half a spear to that contest, on the issue of which depend not alone the safety of Great Britain, but the rights and happiness of mankind?'

Mr. Perceval then moved as an amendment to Lord Porchester's amendment, 'That the Queen have unlimited power over the household.' On a division the ministers were again left in a majority against them of three. The resolutions, therefore, as presented to the Lords, went to restrain the Regent from the granting of peerages, &c., for a limited term; but they granted him the whole of the household, except what the two Houses might in their wisdom deem suitable to the care of his Majesty's person.

The resolutions passed in the House of Commons came on for discussion in the House of Lords on the 4th of January; but the arguments used by the Peers, in support of and against the resolutions, were so similar to those used by the Commons, that it is unnecessary to enter into any exposition of them. On the first resolution, however, Lord Lansdowne moved an amendment for leaving out the words 'subject to such restrictions,' &c., and on a division ministers were left in a minority.

Lord Liverpool then proposed the omission of the privilege which had been supported by his friend, Mr. Perceval, in the Commons, namely, that of granting peerages for extraordinary naval and military services; and certain opposition lords, who preferred the full restriction to an invidious distinction, voting on this occasion with the ministers, the numbers were for Lord Liverpool's amendment—Contents, 106; Non-contents, 100.—This amendment being agreed to by the Commons, the resolutions were passed, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer

then stated, that, as the two Houses had now agreed on their resolutions, he trusted they would also concur in appointing a committee to attend his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and her Majesty the Queen with the resolutions which the two Houses of Parliament had agreed to. The committee who were to wait upon the Prince should inform him that the two Houses of Parliament, considering on the means of supplying the deficiency in the royal authority, had resolved to empower his Royal Highness to take upon himself the office of Regent, subject to such limitations and restrictions as appeared to them to be proper in the present circumstances; and they were also to express their hope that, in his regard for his Majesty and the nation, his Royal Highness would take upon himself the weighty and important trust reposed in him, as soon as a bill should be passed for that purpose.

A resolution to the above effect was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was agreed to unanimously, and ordered to be communicated to the Lords, in a conference.

On the 8th, the Earl of Liverpool rose and stated, that their Lordships were now arrived at that point of time in their proceedings upon the important business of supplying the existing defect in the exercise of the royal authority, at which they were called upon, in conformity to the precedent on which they had hitherto proceeded, to adopt the means of affixing the great seal to the bill about to be brought in, enacting the establishment of a regency in the person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The principle of this measure had been so amply discussed in that House already, that he did not feel it to be his duty to address their Lordships at any length upon the subject. He should not, therefore, enter into any arguments on the question, unless something should fall from any noble Lord which might require particular notice. It became necessary for him, therefore, only to state, that the Resolution he was about to move was strictly conformable with the resolution moved in January, 1789, except one variation. On that occasion, the name of his Royal Highness the Duke of York was inserted in the commission; but, at the request of his Royal Highness, it was afterwards omitted, so

that the commission was passed and made out without his Royal Highness' name. On the present occasion, recollecting that circumstance, he had felt it his duty to make an application to the princes of the blood on the subject, requesting to know from them whether they had any objections to the insertion of their names in the commission now to be made out. He had received from them an answer, expressive of their wish that their names should be omitted. This commission would be framed accordingly, and would resemble that of 1789, not as it was at first proposed, but as it was passed by the two Houses of Parliament. Under these circumstances, he would no longer detain their Lordships, but should proceed to move, that letters patent be issued, authorizing the affixing the great seal to the bill to be brought in, enacting the establishment of the regency in the person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in the King's name, by and with the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled; the form running in the usual terms. After some observations from Lord Grey, the resolution was agreed to.

On the question of the restrictions, there seems to have been but one opinion pervading every branch of the royal family; and, from the strong opposition manifested by them, it was too evident that they sat upon the Prince of Wales like a galling yoke, and that the satisfaction which he expressed in assuming the reins of government was anything but genuine. Of the temper of the male branches of the royal family, on this most momentous of all subjects which ever engrossed their attention, the following Protest, signed by every member of it, is sufficiently declaratory, although it must be acknowledged that this Protest of the royal Dukes was rather premature—for, at the time of its signature, the restrictions had not passed the two Houses of the Legislature, and, therefore, their exact spirit and tenor could not have been ascertained.

It is however worthy of remark, that the assembly of the royal Princes, who signed the Protest, was convened by the Prince of Wales himself; and, therefore, it is not a presumptuous conjecture to hazard, that the sentiments of the Princes were

regulated in a great degree by those which were known to be the prevailing, though not the expressed ones of his Royal Highness.

'Sir,—The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the royal family, and having communicated to us the plan intended to be proposed by his Majesty's confidential servants, to the Lords and Commons, for the establishment of a restricted regency, should the continuance of his Majesty's ever-to-be-deplored illness render it necessary; we feel it a duty we owe to his Majesty, to our country, and to ourselves, to enter our solemn protest against measures we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated our family upon the throne of this realm.

(Signed)

Frederick,	Augustus Frederick,
William,	Adolphus Frederick,
Edward,	William Frederick.
Ernest,	

'*Wednesday Night*, 12 *o'clock*, *December* 19, 1810.

'*R. H. Spencer Perceval, &c. &c. &c.*'

ANSWER.

'Mr Perceval has the honour of acknowledging the receipt of a solemn protest, in the name of all the male branches of the royal family, against the measures which his Majesty's confidential servants have thought it to be their duty to communicate to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as intended to be proposed to the two Houses of Parliament, for the establishment of a restricted regency during the continuance of his Majesty's ever-to-be-lamented indisposition; and stating that their Royal Highnesses consider these measures as perfectly unconstitutional, as contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated his Majesty's royal family upon the throne of this realm.

'Mr. Perceval has felt it to be his duty to submit this communication without loss of time to his Majesty's servants; and deeply as they lament, that the measure which they have thought themselves bound to propose, shall appear to their Royal Highnesses to deserve a character so directly contrary to that which it has been their anxious endeavour should belong to it, they must still, however, have the consolation of reflecting that the principles upon which they have acted obtained the express and concurrent support of the

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two Houses of Parliament in the years 1788 and 1789; that those Houses of Parliament had the high satisfaction of receiving, by the command of his Majesty, after his Majesty's recovery, his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their affectionate attachment to his person, and of their zealous concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions; and that the uninterrupted confidence which his Majesty was pleased to repose, for a long series of years, in the persons who proposed the measures which were grounded on those principles, entitles his Majesty's servants, in their judgment, still further to conclude, that those principles and measures had the sanction of his royal approbation.

'*Downing-street, Dec.* 20, 1810.

'*His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c. &c.*'

On the 11th, at two o'clock precisely, the deputation from the two Houses went up to Carlton House to present to his Royal Highness the resolutions to which the two Houses, after long discussion, had agreed. The lords and gentlemen, all in full dress, were ushered through the superb suite of rooms to the drawing-room, where his Royal Highness stood; his Chancellor, William Adam, Esq., and Earl Moira, on his right hand; the Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Sheridan on his left; behind him four officers of his household, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Colonel M'Mahon, Colonel Bloomfield, and General Turner. The deputation advanced according to their order of precedency: the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Ryder, the President of the Board of Control, and the Master of the Rolls; and they made the usual reverences.

The Lord President then read from a paper in his hand—

'That they were a committee appointed to attend his Royal Highness with the resolutions which had been agreed to by the Lords and Commons, for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, during his Majesty's illness, by empowering his Royal Highness to exercise that authority, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, subject to such limitations and restrictions as shall be provided.

'And that they were directed to express the hope which the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons entertain, that his

Royal Highness, from his regard to the interests of his Majesty, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his Royal Highness, so soon as an act of Parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said resolutions into effect.'

The Lord President then read and delivered to his Royal Highness the resolutions.

To which address his Royal Highness returned the following most gracious answer:

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I receive the communication which the two Houses have directed you to make to me, of their joint resolutions on the subject of providing "for the exercise of the royal authority during his Majesty's illness," with those sentiments of regard which I must ever entertain for the united desires of the two Houses.

'With the same sentiments I receive the expressed "hopes of the Lords and Commons, that, from my regard for the interests of his Majesty and the nation, I should be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be involved in me," under the restrictions and limitations stated in those resolutions.

'Conscious that every feeling of my heart would have prompted me, from dutiful affection to my beloved father and Sovereign, to have shown all the reverential delicacy towards him inculcated in those resolutions, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that I should not have been allowed the opportunity of manifesting to his afflicted and loyal subjects that such would have been my conduct.

'Deeply impressed, however, with the necessity of tranquillizing the public mind, and determined to submit to every personal sacrifice consistent with the regard I owe to the security of my father's crown, and the equal regard I owe to the welfare of his people, I do not hesitate to accept the office and situation proposed to me, restricted as they are, still retaining every opinion expressed by me upon a former and similar distressing occasion.

'In undertaking the trust proposed to me, I am well aware of the difficulties of the situation in which I shall be placed; but I shall rely with confidence upon the constitutional advice of an enlightened Parliament, and the zealous support of a generous and loyal people. I will use all the means left to me to merit both.

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'You will communicate this my answer to the two Houses, accompanied by my most fervent wishes and prayers, that the Divine will may extricate us and the nation from the grievous embarrassments of our present condition, by the speedy restoration of his Majesty's health.'

This answer was delivered by the Prince with that most graceful and dignified deportment which so peculiarly distinguished him.

The following is merely inserted to exhibit the ceremonies which were performed before his Royal Highness, on the first Sunday that he attended Divine service, after having accepted of the regency. It took place on the 27th of January.

At 12 o'clock, the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Earl of Moira, Lords Dundas and Keith, arrived at the Chapel Royal, St. James', when the service of the day began, which was read with great solemnity by the Rev. Mr. Pridden, and the Litany by the Rev. Mr. Hayes. On the Bishop of London (the Dean of the chapel) and the Rev. Mr. Holmes (the Sub-dean) entering the altar, to read the Communion-service, they turned to the royal closet, and made their obeisance to the Prince, as is customary when the King is present. A sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Maddy, from Acts iv. 12; after which the anthem of 'God is our hope and strength' was sung; and, at a quarter past two o'clock, his Royal Highness descended from the closet, and, followed by the three above noble Lords, went up the aisle of the chapel, and took his seat under a canopy, and the Lords on the opposite side of the altar; when the Sub-dean presented to the Prince a gold dish, and his Royal Highness put in his offering, and afterwards the same was presented to the Lords attending him. The Dean, after taking the sacrament himself, administered it to his Royal Highness and to the three noble Lords, and Mr. Maddy, who had preached. On his Royal Highness leaving the chapel, he was received with military honours.

On the 28th, the Regency Bill again came under discussion in the House of Lords, when the Duke of Sussex addressed

their Lordships at great length, and with considerable warmth, against the bill. Lord Grenville, however, moved an amendment to the clause for limiting the period of the restrictions till the 1st of February, 1812, by proposing that the word 'August, 1811' be inserted, instead of the word 'February.'

A division took place on this amendment, when it was carried by a majority of 17; and, on the 2d of February, the Earl of Liverpool proposed a resolution, authorizing certain Lords to apply the great seal to a commission for granting the royal assent to the Regency Bill, which was agreed to; and the same having passed the Commons, the royal assent was given to it by commission on the 5th, and there, as far as the Parliament was concerned, terminated this important business.

Considerable agitation now prevailed amongst the great political parties, as to the choice which the Prince Regent would make of his ministers; but, for a time, the question was set at rest by the following letter which the Prince of Wales addressed to Mr. Perceval.

'*Carlton House, Feb.* 4, 1811.

'The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him in the administration of the executive government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the great seal.

'The Prince feels it incumbent upon him, at this precise juncture, to communicate to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there as his Majesty's official servants. At the same time, the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father leads him *to dread that any act* of the Regent *might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his Sovereign's recovery.*

'This consideration *alone* dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.

'Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the

Prince has only to add, that, among the many blessings to be derived from his Majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the Prince's estimation, be the least, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the United Kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution.

To which Mr. Perceval wrote the following answer.

'*Downing-street, Feb.* 5, 1811.

'Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to your Royal Highness, and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Royal Highness' letter of last night, which reached him this morning.

'Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to your Royal Highness for the frankness with which your Royal Highness has condescended explicitly to communicate the motives which have induced your Royal Highness to honour his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuation of their services, in the stations intrusted to them by the King. And Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure your Royal Highness that, in the expression of your Royal Highness' sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the King, and of anxiety for the speedy restoration of his Majesty's health, Mr. Perceval can see nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to your Royal Highness, in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote your Royal Highness' views for the security and happiness of the country.

'Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of your Royal Highness, with regard to the provisions of the regency, which his Majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to Parliament. But he ventures to submit to your Royal Highness, that, whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the executive government, your Royal Highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the royal prerogatives which has been introduced by Parliament in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion; and that whatever ministers your Royal Highness might

think proper to employ, would find, in that full support and coun tenance which, as long as they were honoured with your Royal Highness' commands, they would feel confident they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable your Royal Highness effectually to maintain the great and important interests of the United Kingdom.

'And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts, that, whatever doubts your Royal Highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which have been adopted, your Royal Highness will feel assured that they could not have been recommended by his Majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by Parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous conviction, that they in no degree trenched upon the true principles and spirit of the constitution.

'Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add, that he holds himself in readiness, at any moment, to wait upon your Royal Highness, and to receive any commands with which your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to honour him.'

The 5th of February being the day appointed for swearing in the Prince of Wales, as Regent, before his taking upon himself that important office, about twelve o'clock a party of the flank companies of the grenadiers, with their colours, the band of the first regiment, drums and fifes, with white gaiters on, marched into the court-yard of Carlton House, where the colours were pitched in the centre of the grand entrance; the band struck up 'God save the King,' and continued playing that national piece alternately with martial airs during the day, till near five o'clock. Colonel Bloomfield, one of the Prince's principal attendants, having written to the Earl of Macclesfield, the captain of his Majesty's yeomen of the guard, informing him it was his Royal Highness' command that as many of the yeomen of the guard should attend at Carlton House, as usually attended upon councils being held by the King in state, the noble Earl not being in London, the letter was opened by the person in waiting, who ordered six yeomen and an usher to attend at Carlton House, which they accordingly did; and they, together with the Prince's servants in state, lined the grand hall and staircase: several of the life-guardsmen were also in some of the rooms, in a similar

manner as on court-days at St. James' Palace. About a quarter before two o'clock, the Duke of Montrose arrived, being the first of the privy councillors who attended; he was followed by all the royal dukes, and a very numerous assemblage of privy councillors, who had all arrived by a quarter before three o'clock. The whole of the magnificent suite of state apartments were opened, and the illustrious persons were ushered into the Gold Room (so called from the style of the ornaments.) Almost every privy councillor then in town was present—exceeding above a hundred in number.

About half past two o'clock, Earl Moira, of his Royal Highness' council, being also a privy councillor of the King, brought a message from the Prince to the President of the Council, Earl Camden, desiring his attendance on the Prince in an adjoining room, according to the usual form, to communicate to him officially the return to the summons, &c. The noble Earl accordingly went with Earl Moira, made the necessary intimation to his Royal Highness, and returned to the company; who during this time of waiting were highly gratified with seeing the Princess Charlotte on horseback, accompanied by two grooms, make the tour of the beautiful gardens in the rear of the palace. Her Royal Highness appeared to be in excellent health and spirits.

After Earl Camden's return, the Prince approached in grand procession, preceded by the officers of his own household, and several of his council, among whom were Earl Moira, Lords Keith, Cassilis, Hutchinson, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. M. Angelo Taylor, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Colonel M'Mahon, Colonel Bloomfield, General Hulse, Mr. Bicknell, &c. &c. (His Chancellor, Mr. Adam, was by accident not present, and there was a delay, in consequence of his Royal Highness' anxious desire of his presence.) The Prince was also accompanied by all the royal dukes. They passed through the room where the privy councillors were assembled, through the circular drawing-room, into the grand saloon (a beautiful room in scarlet drapery, embellished with portraits of all the most distinguished admirals who have fought the battles that have given us the dominion of the seas); and here the Prince seated himself at the top of the table, his royal brothers and cousin

seating themselves on each hand according to seniority, and all the officers of his household, not privy councillors, ranging themselves on each side of the entrance to the saloon. The privy councillors then proceeded, all in full dress, according to their rank—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, &c. &c. &c., and as they severally entered they made their reverence to the Prince, who made a grateful return to each, and they successively took their places at the table; and lastly, Mr. Fawkener and Sir Stephen Cottrell took their seats, as Clerk and Keeper of the Records.

The Prince then spoke to the following effect:—

'My Lords,

'I understand that by the act passed by the Parliament, appointing me Regent of the United Kingdom, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, I am required to take certain oaths, and to make a declaration before your lordships, as prescribed by the said act. I am now ready to take these oaths, and to make the declaration prescribed.'

The Lord Privy Seal then rose, made his reverence, approached the Regent, and read from a parchment the oaths as follows.—The Prince with an audible voice pronounced after him:—

'I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George.

'So help me God.'

'I do solemnly promise and swear, that I will truly and faithfully execute the office of Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, according to an act of Parliament passed in the fifty-first year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third (entitled "An act, &c."), and that I will administer, according to law, the power and authority vested in me by virtue of the said act; and that I will in all things to the utmost of my power and ability consult and maintain the safety, honour, and dignity of his Majesty, and the welfare of his people.

'So help me God.'

And the Prince subscribed the two oaths. The Lord President then presented to his Royal Highness the declaration mentioned in an act made in the 30th year of King Charles II., entitled, 'An act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament,' and which declaration his Royal Highness audibly made, repeated, and subscribed. The Lord President signed first, and every one of the privy councillors in succession signed these instruments as witnesses—and the same was delivered into the hand of the Keeper of the Records.

The Prince then delivered to the President of the Council a certificate of his having received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the Chapel Royal of St. James', on Sunday the 27th of January, which was also countersigned and delivered to the Keeper of the Records, who deposited all these instruments in a box at the bottom of the table.

The Lord President then approached the Regent, bent the knee, and had the honour to kiss his hand. The royal dukes followed, and afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the rest according to the order in which they sat at the long table, advancing to the chair on both sides. During the whole of this ceremony, his Royal Highness maintained the most dignified and graceful deportment; and it was remarked, that there was not the slightest indication of partiality of behaviour to one set of men more than to another.

The ceremony being closed, a short levee took place in the drawing-room, where his Royal Highness addressed himself to the circle; and afterwards he gave an audience to Mr. Perceval, who had the honour of again kissing his hand as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The two very magnificent marble busts of the late Duke of Bedford and Mr. Fox, which heretofore had ornamented the Prince's sitting-room at Carlton House, were removed by order of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent into the Council Chamber, *to be placed at the head of the room*, a few hours previously to the assembling of the council.

Notwithstanding, however, the formal announcement of the Regent of his approbation of the existing ministry, some very

strong misgivings exhibited themselves of his actual sincerity. His long and tried attachment to the principles and measures of Mr. Fox—his public and solemn declaration, that government ought to have for its sole object the good of the people—and that he should regard the regal trust, when reposed in him, entirely subservient to that end—and his known dislike to the existing ministry, which it was naturally imagined must have taken possession of his feelings, on account of the restrictions with which they had clogged the Regent's power, added to the abhorrence of their political principles and conduct which his judgment and habits of thinking must have produced;—all these circumstances led the nation to anticipate a complete and immediate change of men and measures. But, although little or no doubt was entertained on this point, yet there was some difficulty in conjecturing on what party the Prince would call to form his ministry, and, of course, what exact line of political conduct he would pursue. The parties opposed to ministers, and who stood a chance of being acceptable to the Prince, were those who might be justly deemed his personal as well as his political friends, of whom the Earl of Moira was considered the leader; the immediate followers of Mr. Fox, of whom Lord Holland stood at the head. Between them and the Grenville party stood Earl Grey, formerly connected, in the most decided and fundamental manner, with the principles of Mr. Fox; but subsequently understood, from the speech he had delivered on the state of the nation, and from the lukewarmness he had discovered in the cause of parliamentary reform, to have deviated, in no slight degree, from the genuine principles of Mr. Fox, and to be inclining rather to the party and principles of Lord Grenville. Lastly, Lord Grenville headed a formidable party in respect to parliamentary influence, talents, and connexions; he carried with him many, who at the commencement of the French Revolution had deserted Mr. Fox, but who had rejoined him at the time when, on the resignation of Mr. Addington, Mr. Pitt had failed, or had neglected to bring Mr. Fox into power. On many accounts, however, the party of Lord Grenville were not viewed as favourites of the Prince of Wales; they had not the strong bond of connexion with him which all the other parties

had, arising either from personal attachment, or from their having been the friends and colleagues of Mr. Fox. It was whispered too, that the Grenville family were not favourably received by the Prince, on account of what was represented as its grasping and ambitious nature and character; and when they were compared with Earl Grey, as to their respective chance of heading the Prince's administration, the conduct of the latter in reprobating the proceedings against the Duke of York, while the Grenville party had been either active against him, or silent during the discussions on that subject, was naturally supposed to be much more agreeable to the Prince of Wales.

Soon after the Regency bill was brought into parliament, it was generally understood that the Prince was making arrangements for a new ministry; week after week, however, and month after month passed away, and the arrangements were represented as still incomplete. The newspapers in favour of the supposed new administration, maintained that there was no difficulty nor disagreement, neither respecting the principles on which it was to be formed, nor respecting the particular offices which the leading men were respectively to fill; according to their representations, all was smooth, easy, progressive, and unanimous. Whereas, according to the representations of the other party, all was discord and jealousy; like the web of Penelope, what was completed one day was undone the next; they maintained with a positiveness and consistency which bore the appearance of truth and good information, and which was strengthened instead of weakened by the peevish and inconsistent denial of their opponents, that all parties connected with the Prince were at variance with each other; that his personal friends regarded themselves as cut off in the negotiations and proposed arrangements from their due and proper share of influence and favour; that Lord Holland, as the representative of Mr. Fox, thought himself justified in expecting that consideration, which would have been granted to his uncle had he been alive, and that he was disappointed in finding Earl Grey was rather disposed to go along with the wishes and pretensions of Lord Grenville, but even between these two it was asserted that difficulty and difference of opinion arose. The

nation had viewed with so much dislike and jealousy Lord Grenville holding the two incompatible situations of First Lord of the Treasury and Auditor of the Exchequer, during the administration of Mr. Fox, that it was supposed Earl Grey (and in this point he was said to be supported by the Prince) made it an essential point in the plan of the proposed ministry, that Lord Grenville should either give up the auditorship, or, if he preferred retaining it, that he should be content with a subordinate situation, and not again expect to be made First Lord of the Treasury.

Such were the assertions and conjectures that were thrown abroad with much confidence and plausibility on this subject; but it was easy to perceive that the ministry, though they gave some credit and lent their authority to the reports of disagreements amongst the Prince's friends, were actually of opinion that the anxiety and determination to get them out of power would lull all jealousy and cement the discordant materials, at least till the object desired by all was accomplished. Ministers, therefore, prepared for their own removal; and it was believed that in a very short time the existing ministry would be no more, while no person could tell who were to be their successors, further than they knew they must be chosen out of some or all of the different parties attached to them. The friends of these parties said that all was arranged, but that it was a proof of profound policy, as well as of the thorough and complete agreement among them, that the particulars of the arrangement were kept secret; while, on the other hand, the partisans of the ministry, even at the time that they admitted that their friends were to be deprived of their places and power, continued to assert that the arrangements for a new ministry were incomplete, and that the delay had arisen from the continued and increasing jealousies among the different parties.

This vacillation and delay were extremely injurious to the interests of the country, as the public had no confidence in the stability of the national councils, at the same time that it gave great colour to the reports of differences and jealousies among the Prince's friends; while, on the other hand, the letter of the Regent to Mr. Perceval, announcing his intention to keep him in power, did, by the motives which it boldly and unequivocally

assigned for that determination, put it beyond a doubt that the Prince's principles and feelings were still entirely with his political friends.

A considerable degree of ridicule was thrown on the opposition, because they had gone so far as to fill up the various departments of government before it was certain that their services would be required, but this ridicule appears not to have had any good nor just foundation. Admitting what their adherents alleged was the real state of the case—that the Prince came to a final determination to keep his father's ministers in consequence of their advice, and that this advice they always meant to have given, provided the physicians declared that there was a prospect of the King's speedy recovery, —still, as it was uncertain what would be the report of the physicians, it was only prudent, as the period for the establishment of the regency was so near at hand, that the Prince should be provided with an arranged and settled ministry, in case the King's amendment should be declared to be very distant and uncertain.

The determination of the Prince was differently considered, according to the principles and hopes of different parties; many loudly commended his conduct, as not only evincing filial regard to his afflicted father, but as highly proper in a political point of view. They argued that as the King might soon recover, it would have been absurd and highly imprudent for the Prince to have changed the measures which had received the sanction of his royal father, and which it was so well known lay so near his heart; and that if the same line of conduct were to be pursued, it was necessary that the same men should be continued in power. Others again maintained, that the Prince, by retaining his father's ministry, lost a glorious opportunity, which even a very few months of power would have afforded, of correcting many abuses which had crept into the administration, and especially of healing the wounds which had so long festered in the bosom of Ireland. But these sanguine and precipitate reasoners did not reflect that these wounds would have been re-opened with tenfold virulence and danger, if the King, on his recovery, had (as he most probably would have done) rescinded all the acts of the Prince on this

subject. We may conclude, therefore, that as the power and authority of the Prince, as Regent, were delegated, were held for another, and at the time he assumed them were supposed to be merely temporary, he did perfectly right in acting as that other, in whose place he stood, would have acted; and that it was improper to infer, because, as a restricted Regent, having before him the prospect of the King's recovery, he followed the line of conduct which had been pursued before he came into power, that therefore he had deserted his avowed principles, or meant, when he acted unfettered and for himself, to throw off his old political friends. The same reasons which induced the Prince to continue his father's ministers, ought, most undoubtedly, to have led him to behave to those ministers, in all their political connexions with him, in the same manner as he would have behaved towards ministers of his own party and choice. In reality, as he professed to act merely for his father and sovereign, he should have given himself up to these ministers; and though his own personal feelings and sentiments would necessarily prevent him from behaving towards them with that frankness and confidence which he would have displayed towards his own party, had they been in power; yet a regard to his father, to his own dignity, and to the motives and principles on which he had declared he kept them in their situations, should have made him most religiously avoid behaving towards them with contempt or peevishness. Yet, if we may now confide in the representations of those who had access to know the truth, the Prince often forgot his own dignity, so far as to behave rudely to ministers. This was very improperly, meanly, and unwisely made matter of triumph by the opposition; while the ministerial adherents, not being able to deny the truth of the representations, contented themselves with anticipating the day, which they prophesied would soon arrive, when the Prince's prejudices and animosities would give way to the perception, that his father's ministers not only had the good of the country at heart, and took the most effectual means to secure it, but also, that in all they had done towards imposing restrictions upon him, they had been actuated by no personal motives, but solely by a regard to the con-

stitution, and to the rights of their afflicted master. Such persons as neither gave the Prince credit for uncommon steadiness of political principle, nor the ministers for such undoubted attachment to the good of the country as would gain over a patriotic Prince, still were disposed to believe, that from the very circumstance of ministers, from their official character and situations, having such frequent opportunities and means of confidential intercourse with the Regent, the coolness and dislike on his part would wear off, and give place to feelings of indifference, if not of partiality. These conjectures, to all appearances, were in reality verified: by degrees the Prince admitted Mr. Perceval and his colleagues to longer conferences; the public were no longer told that the Regent behaved towards them with coolness, or refused to sanction their measures, or to attend to their recommendations; and long before the restrictions could expire, the public expectation and belief strongly and generally pointed to the continuance of the ministers in office, even after hopes of the King's recovery were abandoned, and the period when the Prince could act completely and in all points as he pleased, was arrived.

At first, however, the Regent seemed disposed, by less equivocal and more manly proofs of his dislike of ministers than the opposition party delighted to record, to hold forth the prospect of a radical change in the administration. In our parliamentary notice of the proceedings on the regency question, we briefly alluded to the extreme delight which the partisans of Sir Francis Burdett evinced on the prospect which was opened to the nation by the Prince's coming into power, and who reprobated, in stronger terms than the regular opposition themselves, the restrictions under which he was laid. They eagerly laid hold of a public declaration which he had made, that all government was for the people; and they took an early opportunity, after the regency was established, of addressing the Prince on various topics connected with their eading principles, and the sanguine hopes they now indulged of seeing those principles brought into full and regular action. For this purpose a meeting was held in the Palace-yard

Westminster, where Major Cartwright, that indefatigable advocate of parliamentary reform, dwelt at great length on his favourite topic; and where an address to the Prince, pointing out in strong terms the dangers to which the nation was exposed from neglecting this measure, was brought forward and carried. This address appeared in the Gazette. Such a very unusual, if not unprecedented circumstance, which must have arisen from the express and positive command of the Regent himself, gave fresh and additional vigour to the hopes of the friends of parliamentary reform. All the failings of the Prince were forgotten; he was hailed as the patriotic Prince, so long beheld in the visionary raptures of the reformists. But a very short period elapsed before this party were compelled to be silent, as they witnessed acts of the Regent, which, but for the shame of publicly declaring that their hopes were ill founded, they would have reprobated in the strongest terms.

Even, however, amidst the decline of their expectations, the Regent occasionally showed himself the enemy of corruption, and in no one instance more strongly and pointedly than in a rebuke he gave to Mr. Perceval. It must, however, be considered, that the Prince no sooner felt himself relieved from the interest which his illustrious father took in the affairs of the Princess of Wales, and the warm and inflexible zeal which he displayed in the espousal of her cause, than the spirits of the junta of Carlton House revived; the chief and most formidable obstacle which stood in the way of the ruin of a now defenceless and unprotected woman, was, by the incapacity of the sovereign, removed. It was a chance not to be thrown away; intrigue after intrigue was set on foot to raise again the slanderous tales, the falsity of which had been previously established, but which were now again to be brought forward with fresh witnesses, raked up from the dregs of society at home and abroad, and who were to be rewarded according to the extent of the infamy which their perjured souls could be brought to swear to. Amongst the busy fiends of Carlton House, Mr. Perceval was looked upon as rather a suspicious character in relation to the condition of the Princess of Wales; and it was held forth, in order to ruin him at once in the esti-

mation of the Prince, as a man and a minister, that as long as he was the premier no hope could be entertained of success in the plans which were then plotting against her Royal Highness. In order, however, to make our readers acquainted with the real grounds of this suspicion, it will be necessary to lay before them the following circumstances:—

It will be recollected that, in the year 1807, the Princess of Wales, in a correspondence with her Majesty, complained of the delays which had taken place in her not being restored to her Majesty's presence and favour; and such correspondence, and the publication of the proceedings relative to the charges of Lady Douglas, seemed to her, under the then existing circumstances, to be almost the only remaining source for the vindication of her honour and character, and to it she so pointedly alluded in her letter to the Prince of Wales. These proceedings, preparatory to publication, were arranged by Mr. Perceval, and have since been designated by the title of 'The Book.' It appears, and no doubt remains on the question, that this book was printed by the order and under the direction of Mr. Perceval himself, at or about this period. The printing of the work was intrusted to the care of Mr. Edwards, then a printer in Crane-court, Fleet-street; and a certain member of parliament, to whom we shall have to refer in a subsequent part of this work, was the confidential assistant. The proof sheets were sent to an *ostensible* editor at the west end of the town, for the purpose of misleading the inquisitive part of the community, but who, in reality, had nothing more to do in the affair than to transmit the sheets to his master and employer, who in due time returned them for impression. The number worked off was only five thousand copies, and this number has been mentioned as a proof that the book was never intended for the public eye: in our judgment, however, the reverse is the case, for an impression of five thousand copies could never have been required for private circulation; indeed, it is an extent to which few works arrive at, even if assisted by a systematic puffing. The most profound secrecy was observed in the printing of this work; the whole of the five thousand copies, with the exception of *two*, were delivered at the house of the principal in the transaction; and

soon after Mr. Perceval was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, the book was suppressed. Such is the servility of the placeman and the courtier, and her Royal Highness was deserted by her former counsellor and adviser, Spencer Perceval!

It however happened, notwithstanding the care with which the copies of this book were transferred to their master, that a few never reached the place of secrecy which had been prepared for them; and one of these copies falling into the hands of the proprietor and editor of a daily newspaper, by successful manœuvres, he is said to have obtained for it 1500*l.* His success induced others who possessed copies to apply for a similar reward; and various sums, from 500*l.* to 750*l.*, were given for what has been quaintly termed each parcel of the residuum of this extraordinary book.

Against one editor and proprietor of a newspaper, who possessed a copy, and who had given public notice of his intention to reprint the volume, an injunction from the Chancellor was issued, in March, 1808, to prevent him from parting with, or publishing the contents of the book, or copies, or abstracts, or extracts from the same, under the penalty of 5000*l.* Subsequently, however, a negotiation was opened with this person, and the copy was purchased of him for one thousand guineas, with all expenses, upon condition that all the copies should be delivered up, and that he should desist from putting in any answer to the injunction *.

* In our progress through this work, we have received the most flattering testimonials from some very celebrated and noble characters, for the fearless manner in which we have exposed the vices of a court, and also of those individuals who have moved within the purlieus of it: on the other hand, we know that our name is mentioned with hatred and indignation in certain quarters, and that we have been selected as a proper object for the petty prosecution of a government attorney. Be it so: we stand firm on the basis of truth, nor will we be driven from it, to be the parasite or the fawning sycophant of the denizens of vice, although the star of royalty glitters on their breast, and the riband of nobility is suspended over their shoulders. We have it, however, in our power to lay before the public the history of a transaction connected with this work, which, if we be obliged to expose in justification and defence of ourselves, will redound not a little to the shame of the individuals who negotiated with us for the cancelling of some of our pages, and who so wrapped themselves up in the cloak of secrecy, as to bid defiance, as they supposed, to all chance of discovery. This negotiation was entered into between the publisher and author of this work, and *a certain party*, whom, for the present, we will merely mention by the cognomen of the Honourable W. B., for the suppression of about sixteen pages; and a day was actually appointed for the ratification of the terms, as agreed upon by the respective

As private applications for getting in the work had not succeeded to the wishes of the minister, or those connected with him, it was advertised, and a notice of the circumstance appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 20th of March, 1809, headed—

'A Book! A Book!!

'The following advertisement appeared yesterday in a ministerial paper. "A book!—Any person having in his possession a copy of a certain book, printed by Mr. Edwards in 1807, but never published, with W. Lindsell's name as the seller of the same on the title-page, and will bring it to W. Lindsell, bookseller, Wimpole-street, will receive a handsome gratuity."'

The same advertisement appeared in the *Times* newspaper three days afterwards.

The suppression of this book, the circumstances connected with it, and the elevation of the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval to the important and responsible situation of prime minister of the country, and his subsequent behaviour to his former friend and client, the Princess of Wales, who, when pressed in parliament, observed that he could not recollect anything which it was possible to bring as a charge against her Royal Highness, afford abundant matter for the most serious reflections. The versatility of the politician, the tergiversation of the lawyer, and the weakness and sycophancy of those who were looking up to the sunshine of royal favour, did not less astonish us by their cool and courtier-like dissimulation, than by the utter want of principle and of justice with which it was accompanied.

On the 19th of June, 1811, a most splendid fête was given by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, with a twofold motive:—first, in honour of the birth-day of his august parent; and secondly, to benefit the numerous classes of British artists, who, by the illness of the sovereign, and the discontinuance of the accustomed splendour of the court, had been deprived of many advantages. The Regent, therefore, feeling for their interests,

parties, the necessary legal documents having been previously transmitted to the publisher. At present we shall say no more; but in the course of this work, we will give the letters of the parties, and other documents, which will excite an unparalleled interest amongst every class of our readers.

requested the attendance of his invited guests in habits of the manufacture of their native land. The company began to assemble at nine. The royal family, with the principal nobility and gentry, came early. The Grecian hall was adorned with shrubs, and an additional number of large lanterns and patent lamps. The floor was carpeted; and two lines, composed of yeomen of the guard, the King's, the Regent's, the Queen's and Royal Dukes' servants, in their grandest liveries, formed an avenue to the octagonal hall, where yeomen were also stationed, and which was decorated with antique draperies of scarlet trimmed with gold-colour, and tied up by gold-coloured cords and tassels. In the hall were also assembled, to receive the company, Generals Keppell and Turner, Colonels Bloomfield, Thomas, and Tyrwhitt, together with Lords Moira, Dundas, Keith, Heathfield, and Mount Edgecumbe. The Prince entered the state rooms at a quarter past nine. He was dressed in a field-marshal's uniform, wearing the riband and gorget of the order of the Garter, and a diamond star. The Duke of York was dressed in a military, and the Duke of Clarence in a naval uniform. Just after the Prince came in, the royal family of France arrived, and were received most graciously. Louis XVIII. appeared in the character of the Comte de Lisle. During the evening the Prince Regent passed from room to room, devoid of all ceremony, conversing with the utmost cheerfulness with his guests. The general amusement of the company for some time was, perambulating the halls and apartments on the principal floor. The grand circular dining-room excited particular admiration by its cupola, supported by columns of porphyry, and the superior elegance of the whole of its arrangements. The room in which the throne stood, was hung with crimson velvet, with gold laces and fringes. The canopy of the throne was surmounted by golden helmets with lofty plumes of ostrich feathers, and underneath stood the state chair. Crimson and gold stools were placed round the room. It contained pictures of the King, Queen, Prince Regent, and Duke of York. We have not space to give a description of the other different apartmentson this floor, all of which were of the most magnificent kind. The ball-room floors were chalked in beautiful *ara-*

besque devices. In the centre of the largest were the initials G. III. R. It was divided for two sets of dancers by a crimson silk cord; but owing to the great number of persons, and the excessive heat of the weather, no dancing took place in this room, nor were the dancers numerous in the ball-room. The first dance was led off by Earl Percy and Lady F. Montague. Supper was announced at two, when the company descended by the great staircase to the apartments below, and the temporary buildings on the lawn. The room at the bottom of the staircase represented a bower, with a grotto, lined with a profusion of shrubs and flowers. The grand table extended the whole length of the conservatory, and across Carlton-house, to the length of two hundred feet. Along the centre of the table, about six inches above the surface, a canal of pure water continued flowing from a silver fountain beautifully constructed at the head of the table. Its banks were covered with green moss and aquatic flowers; gold and silver fish swam and sported through the bubbling current, which produced a pleasing murmur where it fell, and formed a cascade at the outlet. At the head of the table, above the fountain, sat his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on a plain mahogany chair with a leather back. The most particular friends of the Prince were arranged on each side. They were attended by sixty serviteurs; seven waited on the Prince, besides six of the King's and six of the Queen's footmen, in their state liveries, with one man in a complete suit of ancient armour. At the back of the Prince's seat appeared *aureola* tables covered with crimson drapery, constructed to exhibit, with the greatest effect, a profusion of the most exquisitely-wrought silver-gilt plate, consisting of fountains, tripods, epergnes, dishes, and other ornaments. Above the whole of this superb display appeared a royal crown, and his Majesty's cypher, G. R., splendidly illumined. Behind the Prince's chair was most skilfully disposed a sideboard, covered with gold vases, urns, massy salvers, &c.; the whole surmounted by a Spanish urn, taken from on board the 'Invincible Armada.' Adjoining to this were other tables running through the library and whole lower suite of rooms; the candelabras in which were so arranged, that the Regent could distinctly see and be seen, from one end to the other. The

Regent's table accommodated one hundred and twenty-two, including the Royal Dukes, the Bourbons, and principal nobility. On the right hand of the Regent was the Duchess of Angoulême; on the left the Duchess of York, the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, &c. From the library and room beyond, branched out two great lines of tables under canvas, far into the gardens, each in the shape of a cross, all richly served with silver plate, and covered with the delicacies of the season. When the whole company was seated, there was a line of female beauty more richly adorned, and a blaze of jewellery more brilliant, than England ever probably displayed before. Four handsome marquees were pitched on the lawn of Carlton-house, with a *chevaux-de-frise*, to prevent all intrusion: bands of music were stationed in the tents; and when dancing commenced, the gay throng stepped over floors chalked with mosaic devices, and moved through thickets of roses, geraniums, and other fragrant sweets, illumined by variegated lights that gleamed like stars through the foliage. The upper servants wore a costume of dark blue, trimmed with broad gold lace; the others wore state liveries. The assistants out of livery were dressed uniformly in black suits with white vests. The company did not separate till six in the morning. His Royal Highness was everywhere, and divided his attentions with the most polished address. The company comprised all the members of the administration, the foreign ambassadors, the principal nobility and gentry in town, the most distinguished military and naval officers, the lord and lady mayoress, and the principal aldermen and magistrates. The gentlemen wore court dresses, and military and naval uniforms; the ladies wore all new dresses of English manufacture, principally white satins, silks, lace, crape, and muslins, ornamented with silver: head-dress, ostrich feathers and diamonds. For the gratification of the public at large, the magnificent preparations for the fête were permitted by the Prince Regent to remain; and many thousands were delighted by the sight, which, however, we are sorry to say did not close without some serious accidents.

Whatever may have been the obtusity of the intellectual powers of the Prince of Wales on some subjects, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that he possessed a singular tact,

in the discovery of the character of those by whom he was surrounded. If suspicion once took root in his breast touching the fidelity or consistency of any of his subordinates, he would lay the most artful snare to detect the wavering dependent, and banishment from his presence and service was the immediate consequence. A patriot king should, however, be himself consistent; he has but one rule and guide of his actions, and that is, the good and welfare of the people whom he governs. One of the prerogatives of royalty is the reward of merit; and when that reward is justly and impartially distributed, the arts and sciences flourish, and genius feels an encouragement to prosecute its discoveries for the general benefit of its country and the collected human race. We are, however, now on the point of exposing an instance of the grossest inconsistency on the part of the Prince of Wales, in the distribution of the honours and emoluments attached to his royal station, and which will go to prove, that the most patriotic sentiments can on one occasion issue from the lips of a Prince, and that the very next moment he can act in direct opposition to them.

A very short time after the Prince had become Regent, a place of considerable emolument, and of great trust and importance, became vacant; and for this place a certain duke, just then come of age, solicited the minister in behalf of a very near relation. Mr. Perceval accordingly proposed the appointment to the Regent. To this the Prince replied, that the candidate was already in possession of considerable public emolument, and expressed a wish to know upon what peculiar merits or services Mr. Perceval rested his claims to additional recompense. The premier urged his relationship to a noble duke, who possessed great parliamentary influence, and who, it could not be expected, would exert that influence in favour of ministers unless they complied with his wishes by the appointment of his relation to the desired situation. Upon this avowal, the Prince is said to have expressed, in strong terms, his indignation, and to have declared unequivocally, that he trusted Mr. Perceval would never again ground the claims of any man to any place of confidence and responsibility upon such kind of merits, *for that he would always look to the public interest in such appointments*, and not to the interest or power of the ministry. This declaration, so manly and patriotic, revived

the almost exhausted and worn-out hopes and expectations of the reformists, but they were doomed to experience fresh mortification and disappointment.

The following we offer as a contrast to the above, and as a proof that the public interest was not always paramount in the mind of his Royal Highness the Regent.

By the death of General Fox, the office of Paymaster of the Widows' Pensions became vacant. He who holds this office has nothing to perform: it may, in fact, be considered as one of the snuggest sinecures in the gift of the crown, the holder having only to receive his own emolument—the pension of the widows being paid at the office of the Secretary at War, by persons appointed for that express purpose. It had generally been bestowed upon some veteran officer, as a reward for his services; but the time was now arrived when it was to be given away to an individual, whose chief merit lay in being purveyor-general of female beauty to the royal harem, and professor of sycophancy at the court of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England.

The objection to the office of Paymaster of the Widows' Pensions rests not, however, solely on its being a sinecure, but the emoluments of it are actually derived from a per centage on the sum of money annually voted by parliament for the pensions of the widows of those men who have offered up their lives for the service of their country. From every pittance doled out to the distressed widow, a certain portion was laid aside to support the pampered menial of a court in luxury and extravagance—to enable him to spend his midnight hours at the gaming-table, or at the bacchanalian orgies of the profligate and the dissipated. If justice, if honour, if common feeling and humanity, call for the redress of any abuse, it must be the redress of such an abuse as this, than which no greater disgrace can stain the government and the nation which tolerate it. Viewed simply in a financial point of view, the situation ought to have been abolished at the death of General Fox, and accordingly the Committee of Finance had strongly recommended its total and immediate abolition on the decease of that officer. Yet, notwithstanding this recommendation—notwithstanding the flattering and constitutional declaration of his Royal Highness, that he held the crown for the benefit of

his people—notwithstanding his patriotic sentiment expressed to Mr. Perceval, in the case already mentioned, that he would always look to the public interest in granting government appointments; and, finally, notwithstanding whoever held the office must have received the emoluments, for which he moved not a single finger for a single day, from the scanty pittance earned by a whole life of danger and fatigue—scarcely was General Fox cold, than the place was given away to Colonel M'Mahon—to the personal friend and favourite of the Prince, the pander to his worst passions, the recital of whose military exploits could be contained in a single page, and whose extent of actual service may be comprised in the putting on and putting off of his uniform.

This act of favouritism on the part of the Prince Regent requires no comment—it admits of no apology nor excuse; and the attempts of the partisans of the opposition to remove the disgrace and obloquy of the appointment from the Regent, and to fix it on the ministers, and their assertion, that the latter forced it on their royal master, were calculated to create disgust, contempt, and ridicule. It was said on behalf of the Prince, that he was not aware of the nature of the situation he bestowed on his favourite;—thus to screen the Prince they could find no better method than to make a fool of him. 'He could not have known,' say his advocates, 'that in benefiting M'Mahon he injured thousands; and that his *well-known goodness of heart*—and *the love of his country*, would have led him to discover some other method of serving his valuable and faithful friend. This is adulation *usque ad nauseam*, and is another glaring proof that the Prince of Wales sometimes suffered more by the injudicious and extravagant praises of his friends, founded on no substantial act, than by the deed itself; and which, perhaps, but for their officiousness, would never have been exposed to the scrutiny of the public eye.

It would, perhaps, be difficult to find, throughout the pages of history, a monarch or a prince more open to adulation, or who had a greater share of it bestowed upon him than the Prince of Wales. No worshippers of Vishnu or of Fo could bend before the altars of their deities with greater reverence and adoration, than the tribe of sycophants, who, swarming in

the chambers of Carlton House, offered up their incense before their royal idol. It was a food which seemed to augment the appetite for it in proportion as it was administered; nor was it in the least perceived by the royal cormorant, that adulation is always attended by a companion from whom it is necessarily inseparable;—this companion is duplicity, without which adulators could not carry on their approaches, nor circumvent those whom they mean to make the dupes of their purposes. The Prince of Wales, from his infancy, as far as flattery goes, was, in the true signification of the French phrase, *un enfant gâté;* but it should have been considered by those, who were in the habit of administering such a dangerous aliment to the royal mind, that there are no princes to whom flattery is so pernicious as to those who are born to wear the crown of this kingdom. In realms abroad, the voice of flattery proclaims their praises, whether they be worthy or undeserving; far otherwise, however, does the breath of adulation affect an English prince. It lays him open to a number of inconveniences; it prepares a multiplicity of mortifications; the wretched incense of unfounded praise with which he is fed by a servile herd within the precincts of his palace, evaporates there, and he is, on that account, startled with the language which he hears when he ventures abroad and mingles with his subjects.

To flatter, therefore, a king of England, is not only to deceive, but to injure him. It exposes him to the indignation and even to the insults of the meanest of his subjects. These, indeed, from their obscurity, and the absence of all hope or fear from him, will be the readiest to vent their discontent without restraint. But let not a prince be mistaken, and despise their clamours; they are the faithful interpreters of what their betters do not choose to express in unqualified terms: but where is the monarch that takes warning from such notice, however coarsely given? It was by undervaluing such admonitions that Charles I. lost his head, and James II. his crown.

The bent of the mind of the Prince of Wales on his accession to the regency, unschooled by the past and reckless of the future, boded little good for the general interests of the country; he still indulged in all his former propensities for illicit

pleasures and expensive frivolities. The cut of a coat became of greater consequence than the amelioration of the condition of Ireland; and the tie of a neckcloth, an object of greater importance than parliamentary reform, or the adjustment of our disputes with America. The morning hours which a patriotic prince would have employed in devising measures for the good of the country, were idled away with a favourite tailor, taking measures of the royal person, and receiving his valuable information on the decided superiority of loose trousers to tight pantaloons *. The different uniforms of the army became also, at this time, the peculiar objects of the gracious attention of the Prince Regent; and our brothers of York and Cumberland were called in to describe the trappings and fopperies of the German soldiery, the introduction of which into the British army (setting aside the expense to the nation) has rendered some of the men the laughing-stock of the public.

With the increase of power, increased also his extravagant propensities; his love of show became more vehement, and the thoughtlessness of youth settled into plans of organized dissoluteness and haughty seclusion. With an income exceeding the national revenue of a third-rate power, there appeared

* We can state it as a fact, that a council was held once in Carlton Palace on the subject of trousers and pantaloons, at which a certain Marchioness presided, assisted by other ladies, whose experience in matters of that sort was never questioned by any one. The knotty point to be determined was (and it was agreed upon *una voce*,) that there was an indelicacy attached to the pantaloon, from which the trouser was in a great degree exempt. The decision of the ladies in favour of the trouser was submitted to the approbation of the Prince Regent, who, from a knowledge of the anatomical perfection of his form, requested the ladies to reverse their decision; but, *contra*, the ladies declared, it had been formed after the most mature deliberation, and the closest inspection of the respective advantages and defects of the two modes of dress; the Prince therefore yielded, and from that moment the use of the pantaloon was prohibited at Carlton Palace, and, consequently, wherever fashion was supposed to predominate. Fashion has produced strange monsters in its time; and, perhaps, no place can be mentioned from which a greater number have issued than Carlton Palace. Lord Spencer showed his knowledge of the frivolity of the human character, when he cut off the skirts of his coat, and declared that there was nothing too ridiculous which would not be followed by the crowd, if any celebrated individual set the example; and on this head, the obligations which the world of fashion owes to the Prince of Wales have been acknowledged by far more sapient heads than ours. We throw no sneer upon hereditary maladies—they belong to the infirmities of our nature; but a malady hereditary in the Royal Family of England was the cause of the introduction of the stiff-starched shirt collar, projecting on each side of the face like a pig's ear, and which has been found exceedingly convenient to those who can afford to buy a collar, but not a shirt. It is rather singular, that the Spanish ruff was invented for the same purpose, and on account of the same malady.

to be no limit to his desires, nor any restraint to his profusion —nor could even a parliament moulded to his wishes, administer sufficiently to satisfy the lavish expenditure, for embellishing and beautifying his palaces, intended for no public object, nor tending in any degree to the advantage of his people. Essentially despotic in his notions, notwithstanding the principles inculcated in his youth by the illustrious men by whom he was surrounded, his subsequent conduct clearly proved that he rather upheld the men than valued their principles, and that he repudiated their principles as soon as he had abandoned the men.

France owed to Louis XIV. her several royal palaces, the building of which, at the expense of the tears and happiness of his people, obtained for him the title of the *Grand Monarque*. It was the fashion to praise George IV. equally for his love of the arts and the magnificence of his improvements, but nothing could be more revolting than the vain-glorious and indifferent conduct of the two monarchs, except the ingratitude of our own, as the sovereign of a free people.

If the indulging of his taste for pictures and buildings had been cherished by the love of the antique, and the pure, simple, and severe style of the ancients, in all their public buildings, economy would have been a vice, and parsimony avarice. But where are the monuments of his fame to be found?—are we to look for them in the gilded toy of Virginia Water, in the building and decoration of which thousands were extracted from the public purse, to enable royalty and the paramour of royalty to angle for minnows and sticklebacks, and which now stands in all the desolate gloom of a forsaken residence, hurrying to decay and dissolution? Are we to look for them in the frippery trellis-work of the royal cottage, that *dear* and *beloved* spot, where many an ardent vow has been breathed of *everlasting* constancy and affection, and which, whenever it was graced with the presence of royalty, was also enlivened by the dulcet strains of a certain lovely warbler, breaking on the silence of the enraptured moment with all their witchery, and giving to passion a more than human feeling?

When Carlton House was beautified, as it was termed—who selected the architectural abortions, or improved upon the

solid comforts of the Brighton Pavilion, by the adoption of a style equally barbarous and grotesque? What personals has the late king bestowed upon the nation? What palaces and royal edifices have been designed, which have not been provided for by a grant in parliament, at the expense of a people already overwhelmed by a severe, unjust, and unequal taxation? The Austrian 'God-send,' instead of being paid into the coffers of the public, was voted away to be squandered on the stone and mortar of Windsor Castle, but, being found inadequate to satisfy 'the rage for improvement,' a further demand was made upon the public purse, and the comforts of the people were to be abridged, to satisfy the insatiable appetite of royalty for the erection of terraces and towers, which now stand forth obtrusive to the view, as lasting monuments of the vanity and folly of the projector.'

On the House of Brunswick, no country had ever greater claims for a wise and a provident form of government. Raised from obscurity by the act of settlement, to preside over a great and commercial people, much allowance was made at the time for their ignorance of the laws of England, and the prejudices of their education; but the accession of George III. was hailed as a favourable change in the dynasty of a House, which up to that period was rather tolerated than loved. For a short time George IV. riveted the affections which his father had begun to kindle in the hearts of a brave and generous people, and a more equal rule would have obtained for him the enviable title of the father of his people. But although his family owed so much to the country,—though it was impossible he should be deficient in constitutional knowledge—though associated for many years with men of the most enlightened views—himself by no means wanting in classical knowledge, with all the sources of inquiry open to him, and the experience of a reign, like that of his father, of one continued series of mournful recollections and sinister policy—neither the result of the American wars, nor the triumph of the people over despotism in France, nor the aggravated sufferings of a debt exceeding anything in ancient or modern history—not one of all these powerful circumstances could deter him from attempting to establish and maintain in this country the exploded

policy which had embittered his father's life, and brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold. The civil liberty, which had, though feebly, taken root on the continent, when the universal tyranny of Charles V. crumbled into nothingness,—which Elizabeth knew how to balance to the advantage of our foreign relations and national honour—which Charles I. rejected, and William III. was called over to protect, became an object of aversion and suspicion to the late king, and of contumely to his domestic government. Every part of his administration was modelled on rather what had been, than what ought to be, and the worst periods of monarchical principles were consecrated by a tacit adhesion to a combination of despots, called the Holy Alliance, directly opposed to the laws and institutions of freedom,—those very laws and institutions, the spirit of which he had sworn to maintain and defend.

We may be permitted to pursue these remarks prospectively, without subjecting ourselves to the charge of anachronism, inasmuch as delineation of character is necessarily subject to those prospective circumstances which have a decided influence on human action, and which tend more than any other to place the individual in his true and genuine light. It is not the glimpse of an individual, acting under particular circumstances in an isolated case, from which the censor is entitled to draw a criterion of the *real man;* it can only be achieved by a concentration of action,—by determining the uniformity and consistency of his moral habits, and by viewing him in opposite lights, when personal interests come into competition with the dictates of virtue, and the latter, if success is to be attained, must be sacrificed to secure the former.

The political character of the Prince of Wales was in some respects governed by no fixed principles, but it may with safety be affirmed, that the battle of Waterloo completed the ruin of his political character, and confirmed the delusions of his policy. After this event, although he could not openly change the exterior forms of the government, internally they assumed a close resemblance to the manners and appointments of the continental systems, unmitigated by its concessions, and perseveringly enforced by a succession of ministers devoted to his will, and at war with the best interests of the country. If

the people petitioned, their grievances were ridiculed. If they sought to approach the throne, the presence of the Sovereign was interdicted. The familiarity of the paternal administration of his late father lost its identity amidst the introduction of foreign orders and military distinctions, as odious as they were anti-national. The ancient gentry of the country lost their station in the court—their place was assumed by a military aristocracy, and the noble families of England had no access to the Sovereign, or to the females of the royal house, but through a den over which a Circe presided, at whose polluted altar the Sovereign debased himself, and who was in herself the fountain of all honours, which royalty has to bestow upon those who have done good service to their country.

From the period of his becoming Regent in 1811, to his accession in 1819, his domestic policy was uniform and invariable, always tending to the increase of his own power at the expense of the liberties of the people. His court was, perhaps, more refined than the gloomy solitude of Tiberius, but it was no less jealous and exclusive. Hence, the persons about the court were more slaves than friends—more fawning, truckling sycophants, than advisers. Incapable of a durable friendship, he abandoned his early counsellors, in the same heartless manner as he did his successive mistresses, for some new object of caprice and indulgence. Thus, whatever may have been the dissolute habits of Sheridan, whatever may have been the personal foibles of Fox—the incomparable talents and political honesty of the latter should have attached a faithful and grateful master. But at the very moment that he called him his preceptor in the arts of governing, he was about to contract an engagement with those who repudiated his principles, and impugned his character; thereby renouncing the glory which awaited the character of a patriotic king. In this spirit he carried on the war and rewarded the victor. The benefits which liberal principles hoped to obtain by the conquest—the diminished taxation expected by the people—the remission of arbitrary laws enacted at a moment of public panic, which were expected to follow on the peace, were evaded or delayed, till it pleased God to close the scene at once, and by removing our monarch to a heavenly king-

dom, perhaps, save a terrestrial one from anarchy and rebellion.

To return chronologically to our history: the Regent had not possessed his power many weeks, before it was whispered about that he meant to reinstate the Duke of York in his situation as Commander-in-Chief. While there were many considerations and circumstances which rendered this highly probable, there were others which surrounded it with no small degree of doubt. On the one hand it was well known that the Prince, through the whole of the proceedings against the Duke of York, firmly adhered to the belief of his innocence—or what was nearly tantamount to the same thing, if he did not actually believe in it (and he exhibited the semblance of it,) at all events, he was heard openly to declare it as his opinion, that his guilt had been greatly exaggerated; that his accusers were actuated by the worst of motives, and had recourse to the most foul and unjustifiable means to accomplish their purposes; finally, that the punishment which the Duke had suffered, by being obliged to relinquish his situation, was much too severe for his indiscretion.

The two royal brothers presented, at this time, rather a curious spectacle; and on their meeting, they might, with the utmost propriety, have exclaimed, 'Brother! brother, we are both in the wrong.' The elder one was exerting all his power and influence to disgrace and ruin a woman—the younger had been brought to disgrace and ruin by a woman—to which of the two the greater degree of blame ought to be attached is a question which would not require the profundity of a casuist to determine—the Prince of Wales was a married man, the Duke of York was also a married man; if, therefore, the former, in a sudden fit of honest indignation, declared it to be an act of moral turpitude in the latter to associate with prostitutes, and to be continually guilty of infringing the seventh part of the Decalogue, although on every Sabbath each of them responded with an audible voice, 'Lord incline our hearts to keep this law;' yet the Prince by so censuring his brother must have known that he was at the same time passing a severe censure upon himself. In character and *profession* there was scarcely a shade of difference be-

tween a Jersey and a Clarke; and we rather opine, that, if the two ladies had been put into the scales at the same time, my Lady of Jersey, in point of lightness of character, would have kicked the beam at once.

We believe it is Milton who makes his devils boast of the possession of superlative virtue, and the irony might hold good in the place in which the said devils are supposed to reside; but Satan, on his throne in Pandemonium, reproaching his compeers for their crimes, must, for the same reason, have distorted their faces with laughter, as the courtiers round the throne of the Prince Regent of England must have smiled, to have heard his Royal Highness lecturing his royal brother on the profligacy and dissipation of his habits.

With the possession of the sentiments and feelings which the Regent entertained on the topic of his brother's disgrace, it was, therefore, to be expected that he would exert himself to reinstate that brother; and this measure might have been anticipated without any apprehension for the consistency and purity of the Prince's political principles, for the matter itself was rather of a personal nature, as far as the Regent was concerned, although he could not be ignorant that his reinstatement would excite the attention of parliament, and arouse again the indignant spirit of the country, which, although it had been stifled, was not yet wholly subdued.

On the other hand it was contended, that however strong might be the fraternal affection which the Prince bore towards his brother, and however deep and sincere his conviction, that he had been unjustly and harshly treated, yet, that he would have hesitated to take a step, which the remembrance of the public sentiments and feelings, at the time the investigation into the conduct of his royal brother was set on foot, must have convinced him would be highly unpopular, if not absolutely dangerous.

The Prince, however, and his advisers in this business, appeared to have weighed the matter well, and formed a more true and just estimate of the steadiness and consistency of popular feeling, than the opponents of the Duke. There were, indeed, several circumstances which operated decidedly in favour of the Duke of York, and which had cooled in no slight

degree the public indignation against him, and their predilection for his accusers. In fact, Colonel Wardle seems to have grown dizzy with the adulation which was poured in upon him from all quarters; not suspecting that every secret engine was set to work to retaliate upon him, and in fact it must be admitted, that he did all that his enemies could have wished, and more than, without his assistance, they could have effected, to destroy his own popularity; and in proportion as his credit and popularity were destroyed, the crimes of the Duke of York were by some forgotten, and by others disbelieved, or thought to have met with more than adequate punishment. When, therefore, it was officially announced in the Gazette, that the Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, had been pleased to appoint the Duke of York Commander-in-chief, scarcely a voice was raised up against it. Lord Milton, it is true, in the House of Commons, in the first warmth of his surprise and indignation, gave notice of a motion on the subject, but he appears afterwards to have cooled, and when he did make his motion, it was supported by very few, while many who had before inveighed against the Duke of York in the most decided and violent language, read their recantation, and pronounced their belief in his innocence.

It was both amusing and instructive to observe the conduct of the opposition and reformists on this occasion. The former, knowing that the act of the Duke's reinstatement came from the Prince himself, and that in no light, and under no pretence, could it be considered or represented as proceeding from ministers, were either silent or censured the measure in very feeble and measured terms. The reformists having openly and repeatedly declared their belief that the Prince was an enemy to corruption, and that he would always respect the wishes of the people, had not courage nor principle sufficient to read their recantation, by blaming him for the reinstatement of his royal brother. Independently of which, there is reason to believe they had panegyrised the Prince, more from the hope of enticing him over, by praise to their views and principles than from the conviction or proof that he was actually already so inclined; and they apprehended that if they withdrew their praise, they should sacrifice all probability of accomplishing

their object. The only men who acted a consistent and undisguised part on this occasion, were the ministers; they had always declared their opinion that the Duke of York had been unjustly accused, and that his reputation was sacrificed to the clamour and prejudices of the people, raised by the most foul and base means. Such men were, therefore, equally led by duty and inclination to second and forward the Prince's wishes and plans for the reinstatement of the Duke, and they accordingly, in parliament, stood boldly forward and defended the measure. On this occasion, ministers appeared, even to those who disapproved of their general principles and measures, much more consistent and trustworthy than their opponents. They gained on the good opinion of the public, while the other party sunk in their esteem and confidence, and raised in the breasts of many a feeling very nearly allied to contempt.

The nation at large viewed the reinstatement of the Duke of York with great indifference, so far as it regarded *him*, but with something like dissatisfaction and disappointment, in so far as it indicated the principles of the Regent. It was, indeed, pretty generally believed that the Duke had received such a lesson as would effectually keep him within bounds for the remainder of his life; and the British public, who, when not inflamed nor led astray by passion and prejudice, always view with a candid eye the failings of their princes, having forgotten or disbelieved his crimes, were not sorry that his punishment should cease. But although they were disposed to make all due allowance for fraternal feeling and partiality, yet they would have been better pleased had the Regent not been so forward to reinstate his brother. This feeling, however, soon wore away, and had the Prince's conduct in all other respects indicated a determined enmity to corruption and favouritism, his popularity would not have essentially nor permanently suffered for his interference on behalf of the Duke of York.

On the 20th February, the appointment of Col. M'Mahon was again brought before the House of Commons, on Lord Palmerston moving for sundry sums to defray the contingent expenses of the army. On this occasion, some severe animadversions were passed upon the Prince Regent, on account of his conduct partaking too strongly of a disposition to favourit-

ism, without the individual so favoured possessing any well-founded claim on the gratitude of the country. On Lord Palmerston moving that the sum of 61,000*l.* be granted for the payment of widows' pensions, Mr. Bankes moved an amendment,—that the 2000*l.* to Colonel M'Mahon should be omitted, but it was lost by the trifling majority of 15. When however the report was brought up, Mr. Bankes renewed his amendment, and carried it in the very teeth of administration, by a majority of 8.

Colonel M'Mahon being at that time a member of the House, entered into an explanation of his conduct, and declared that in the rewards he had received from his royal master, he had met with such numerous marks of grace and delicacy, as to impress in the deepest manner his whole heart, and life, and soul, with the kindness and favour of his Royal Highness.

A reward carries with it the implication of some service rendered, or of some meritorious action committed, and when Colonel M'Mahon talked of rewards which he had received, there were some crabbed, ill-natured members in the House, who had the impertinence to pry into the nature of the services which Colonel M'Mahon had rendered to his royal master, and they being found to consist in providing fresh objects for the gratification of his passions, in which character, fame, and reputation were considered as merely secondary objects, the voice of the public opinion was turned against him, and at the same time one of the severest lessons on record was read to the Prince Regent, by the representatives of the people.

A humorous circumstance occurred during the explanatory speech of Colonel M'Mahon, in which he stated, that he had *the affairs of sixteen hundred widows to attend to*, on which Mr. Whitbread rose, and archly declared that if the gallant Colonel would produce a voucher from the ladies, that he had performed his duty to their entire satisfaction, he should think him well entitled to the salary annexed to his situation.

This unexpected decision of the House of Commons threw the expectants of Carlton House into a feverish state of alarm. The affair of Colonel M'Mahon had been put forth as a kind of feeler, and if it had succeeded, there were other situations ready to be proposed, as a remuneration to other individuals

for services similar to those which M'Mahon had rendered to his royal master, and for which they were to be rewarded from the public purse.

To the great surprise, however, of the public, a very short time after the *gallant* Colonel had been shorn of his 2000*l.* a year, by a majority of the House of Commons, an appointment appeared in the Gazette for the same gentleman, as private secretary to the Prince Regent, with a certain salary attached to it, but of the exact amount of that salary no decisive information could be obtained, although it was reported to be the same as the intended salary of the Paymaster of the Widows' Pensions, namely 2000*l.* per annum. A confidential appointment of the kind under a government like that of England will always be viewed with great jealousy and distrust. It enables the individual holding it to become possessed of all state secrets, it renders the responsibility of ministers in a great degree a nullity, and so endangers the political relations of the country, that the most consummate diplomatic ability might be frustrated in its designs by the mere intrigues of an unauthorised and unconstitutional dependent. In an after part of this history, we shall have again to allude to a similar appointment in the person of another individual, whose dismissal was peremptorily insisted upon by the ministers of the day, as they did not consider themselves secure in the formation of any of their plans, or in their secret intercourse with foreign powers, so long as an irresponsible individual had access to those documents which in their official capacity they were obliged to lay before the head of the executive government.

On the subject of this appointment, which created a great sensation in the political world, reference was made to the antecedent parts of British history, to discover if any precedent could be found for such an appointment, or that it was ever conferred or sanctioned by any previous monarch. It appeared to the people of this country, and it proved to be a severe blow upon the popularity of the Prince Regent, that it was a sinister attempt to make an inroad into the principles of the Constitution, by environing the executive government with an irresponsible officer—who was wholly independent of the ministers of the day, and yet who, by virtue of his official capacity,

became privy to all their proceedings. He could not be regarded as a cabinet minister, nor as a privy councillor, and yet he was a greater man than either; in no former period of our history had any such office been required, not even in the reign of King William, whose unceasing attention to public measures was well known, and in whose reign arrangements were made which preserved the liberties of Europe. George I., who was a complete stranger in the country, and unacquainted with our language, required no such assistance; and those who now, from a long servility to the views of the Regent, supported this unconstitutional grant, were compelled to shelter themselves under a supposed precedent in the reign of the then existing monarch. But the circumstances under which Colonel Taylor was appointed Private Secretary to George III., and those under which Colonel M'Mahon was appointed Private Secretary to the Prince Regent, were in their constituent principles wholly dissimilar. In the case of George III., the appointment was made at a time when his Majesty was afflicted with an infirmity which rendered him incapable of longer personally discharging many of his important functions; and although in principle even the nomination was objectionable, yet motives of delicacy had withheld individuals from bringing it under the notice of parliament: the case was, however, different with the Prince Regent—he laboured under no such calamity as had afflicted his royal parent; the Secretary of State for the Home Department was virtually the private secretary to the Regent; and, therefore, the appointment of Colonel M'Mahon was considered by all reflecting men as another instance of the spirit of favouritism which seemed at this time to influence the operations of Carlton House.

This appointment became the subject of parliamentary investigation, and Mr. Wynne, after entering very fully into the unconstitutional principle of the grant, moved for the production of any instrument by which John M'Mahon was appointed Private Secretary to the Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty; and also for the copy of any minute of the Board of Treasury thereon, directing the payment of the salary attached to the same.

Lord Castlereagh opposed the motion, and defended the appointment, on the ground that public business had so accumulated, that if the Prince Regent had not some additional assistance procured for him, the country might soon have to mourn the loss of their patriotic and virtuous Prince, and the manner in which that calamity was to befal the nation was thus pathetically described by the desponding minister. 'The manual aid of some officer was required,' said his Lordship, 'for his Royal Highness, who would otherwise be almost overwhelmed with the public documents that would be heaped upon him, and scarcely able to disengage his person from the accumulating pile by which he was encompassed.' On this part of our subject we can only say, that if the Prince Regent of these realms had gone out of this world without being able to boast of having ever committed one great or original act during the whole of his life, yet the manner of his death would certainly have been one of the most original which ever befel an earthly monarch, and would have afforded to some future Shakspeare one of the most striking incidents for dramatic effect which the history of this or any other country could exhibit.

A very long and spirited debate ensued on the motion of Mr. Wynne, and it was ultimately negatived; the House, however, had taken up the matter too seriously for ministers to persist in the measure, and they accordingly abandoned it.

Thus was the Prince Regent twice defeated in his attempt to reward 'his faithful servant' from the public purse. He very wisely desisted from attempting it a third time, and the gallant Colonel was ultimately made a pensioner on the privy purse.

The subject of the regency, which appeared to absorb all other matters in the importance of its arrangements, had for a time diverted the public mind from reflecting on the extraordinary exhibition which the court of England at this time represented, concentrated as it was, owing to the malady of his Majesty, in the immediate sphere of Carlton House, and subject to all the demoralizing influence which emanated from its vicious propensities. There was within the walls of that house a kind of *imperium in imperio;* but in that government it would have redounded more to the interests of the nation

had the Salic law been in full force. The history of almost all countries exhibits to us the humiliating picture of the ascendancy which has been gained by female intrigue, and female beauty, in the councils of a nation ; and in proportion as that nation was immersed in despotism, so was the extent of evil which was committed. That, which Buonaparte could not effect with Alexander of Russia, from the combined talent of the most skilful diplomatists of his time, was achieved in every point and particular by the fascination of a beautiful opera-dancer, sent expressly from Paris for the occasion, and who obtained possession of the secrets of the Russian cabinet, which led afterwards to the subjugation of Europe, and to the establishment of a Corsican adventurer on the throne of an empire, whose limits exceeded those of Rome in the zenith of its power and grandeur. It has been said, that in a representative government, like that of England, the influence of a female favourite can extend no further than the immediate domestic relations of the sovereign, and that all attempts to interfere in, or to rule the political relations of the country, must necessarily prove abortive. This position, however, can only be considered tenable by those who have not penetrated deeply into the boudoirs of princes, and who have not witnessed the irresistible power which an unlimited display of female beauty exercises sometimes over the wisest of men, how much greater then over the confirmed voluptuary, who, in the delirium of passion, is led on by that fictitious struggle which an artful and designing woman knows so well how to assume to procrastinate the victory, to expose the innermost recesses of his heart, with all its secret jealousies and antipathies, its frustrated desires, and its future designs, at the same time that he suspects not the snake which is coiling its folds around him, until he feels the infliction of the poisoned tooth, the virus of which circulates with all its mortal malignity to the very vitals of his existence, moral and personal, and he exhibits himself at last to an indignant world as a spectacle for wise men to weep at, and fools to laugh at.

Perhaps no prince nor monarch was ever more under the control of women than our late most gracious Sovereign,

and that no injury did or could accrue to the country from such an ascendancy, can only be promulgated by those who look on the superficies of things, and who regulate their opinions, not from any previously acquired knowledge of the human character, but from a factitious estimate which they have formed for themselves of what man ought to be. Persons of this description feel disposed to reject the belief of that which is not usual, and to doubt what they do not feel themselves as the criterion of the human capacity for particular kinds of pleasure; and in regard to the Prince of Wales, such people would be inclined to consider it incredible, that, although at the period when his wife was living at Montague House, repudiated, it is true, from his bed and board, that Lady Jersey was an in-pensioner of Carlton House—Mrs. Fitzherbert an out-pensioner—Mrs. Hope, Mrs. Cholmondeley, and Mrs. Hamilton, *occasional visiters;* yet, that notwithstanding he was surrounded by this halo of feminine beauty, a certain establishment was kept up in May Fair, which had the resemblance of a Turkish mart for Circassian beauties, where noble and ignoble objects were daily presented to the gaze of the royal voluptuary, and honoured and flattered was the infatuated girl when royalty condescended to bestow its smile upon her. Neither the names nor dates of those individuals, on whom the beams of royalty descended, nor the duration of their favouritism, admit of chronological proof, nor of general acquaintance, but a sufficient number of well known persons, who have published their own shame and infamy, or who have been mixed up with some flagrant act of the court, verify the tale of the dissolute and debauched habits of the Prince. If the names of more persons be not known, it is owing to the secrecy with which such connexions are contracted and conducted, rather than a proof of their non-existence. Messalina is no more a fable of antiquity than Catherine of Russia is of modern times; the prototype of the former was by no means an apparition at the Court of Carlton Palace; the reality was visible to every one who breathed its corrupted atmosphere; and in regard to the latter meretricious potentate, the Carlton House conspirators were at this

time clandestinely at work to prove to the English people, that her prototype was to be found in the wife of the Prince Regent of England.

The immortal Alfred was a patriot king, and Henry IV. of France, if he could have been persuaded that any man in his realm had an exclusive right to the possession of a handsome woman, might have nearly approached to that character; the Prince of Wales appears to be subject to the same drawback on his patriotism as the French monarch, for two greater monopolists of female beauty are not to be met with in the records of history, with the exception, perhaps, of King Solomon. It is true that the Prince of Wales had no avowed establishment like Louis XV. of France, for training children for prostitution, but were there no private seminaries '*under covert and convenient seeming*' for the gratification of his passions? Were there no boarding-schools *in the vicinity of Hammersmith and Somers Town*, explored by pretended dancing and music masters, for some precocious objects ripening before their time, to be led away by the splendour and show of rank and riches to inhale the polluted air of a royal brothel—were the heart-rending scenes, so beautifully described in the exquisite novel of 'Peggy and Patty,' never realized by the satraps of Carlton Palace? Would, for the sake of humanity—for the sake of the character of our nature, that these questions could be answered in the negative. But alas! we could point to the spots, we could point to the objects themselves, the sorrows of some of whom are long since hushed in the grave; we could point to one spot in particular, where once flourished two lovely rosebuds, bursting in all their glowing beauty on the parent branch—so guarded and protected, that scarcely a breath of heaven was allowed to pass over them—but the fated moment came, scarcely was the fulness of the rose put forth, than some treacherous reptile crept into the chalice, the flowerets withered, drooped, and died. A parent's broken heart cries aloud for vengeance; the sinner is gone to render up his account, and the tears which suffering humanity has shed will be his accusers at a bar, where the plea of terrestrial rank will be of no avail.

It was in one of his visits to Bath, to which place John M'Mahon sometimes retired, to recreate himself from the toils *of his profession*, and to dislodge an enemy to his repose, known by the name of the gout, that the coach in which he was a passenger received an addition to its freight on leaving Marlborough, in the persons of a respectable-looking, venerable gentleman and two young ladies, whose destination was the same town to which the wily courtier was repairing. The tact of the man of the world was soon exhibited by M'Mahon, whose eyes were feasting on the youthful beauty so unexpectedly presented to his view, and he soon elicited from his new companion, that he was a minister of the church of England, living upon the small pittance of a curacy, in the vicinity of Marlborough, and that the two ladies were his daughters, whom he was accompanying to Bath on a visit to a distant relative. From that moment the ruin of these lovely girls was determined upon, and although M'Mahon in person was not of that cast nor make which possesses a great influence over the female heart, yet there was so much of the politeness, the easy familiarity, and the urbanity of the finished gentleman about him, that the clergyman and his daughters were delighted with their new acquaintance, and on their arrival at the place of destination, the mutual offer of a further intimacy passed between them.

We have been allowed to take a transcript of the following letter, which was written by John M'Mahon to his royal master a few days after his arrival at Bath.

(*Most private.*)

SIR, *Bath, Sunday Evening.*

Ever alive to the obtaining possession of any object which may contribute to your royal pleasures, I hasten to inform your Royal Highness, that chance has thrown me into the company of two most lovely girls, the daughters of an indigent curate, and who, from their apparent simplicity and ignorance of the world, may be soon brought to comply with the wishes of your Royal Highness. I shall immediately devise some plan by which they may be induced to visit the metropolis, and the remainder of my task will then not be difficult of execution. The prize is too valuable to be lost sight of—the elder of the girls bears some resemblance in her form and

make to Hillisberg—although it is evident that the whole fulness of her growth has not yet developed itself. The younger is more of a languishing beauty; but from the knowledge which I possess of your royal taste, the elder will be the object of your choice.

I have the honour to remain, &c. &c.

JOHN M'MAHON.

To His Royal Highness
The Prince Regent, &c. &c.

Although the heart sickens at such a cold-blooded, systematic destruction of female innocence and of a parent's hopes, yet it forms too prominent a feature in the picture which we are drawing, to be omitted, without subjecting ourselves to the charge of falsifying the original, or of a want of skill in catching its predominant traits. It exhibits, indeed, a melancholy shade in our portrait, but the display of its dark and gloomy features may not be without its uses. The vices of its princes form an imposing and instructive page in the history of a nation; they display to a people the falsity and inaptness of the political principle of hereditary power; and that the toleration of a vicious monarch on the throne is in direct opposition to the vital interests and prosperity of a country.

The intimacy between John M'Mahon and the clergyman's family daily increased. Youth is too prone to be dazzled by a display of rank; and the knowledge that they were honoured with the acquaintance and the personal esteem of the friend and confidant of the Prince Regent, co-operated not a little to instil into the minds of the artless girls an increased opinion of their own importance, and a growing dislike to the secluded mode of life to which they had been hitherto confined. This was the first step to their fall; the poison of adulation was hourly instilled into their too susceptible hearts; the world of fashion, of gaiety and pleasure, had opened upon them, and, must it be owned?—there was a voice within which began to tell them that to love and be loved is the bliss of human life.

John M'Mahon was well versed in the principle, that the first step to gain a daughter's confidence and affection, is to befriend her father. Gratitude then takes root in the daughter's breast,

and the fallacious opinion is formed, that he who has shown himself a real friend to her parent, cannot be an enemy to herself. The proffers of John M'Mahon to further the promotion of their father, through his influence with the Prince Regent, were received by the lovely girls with all the warmth of the most unsuspecting innocence; they hailed the day which threw them into his society as the most fortunate of their lives; and the enthusiasm of youth—brightest sometimes when it should be the most softened—beheld on every side a vista of happiness opening before it. The entranced imagination of an ardent spirit, bounding over all the ills and accidents of life, was to be read in the sparkling eye, in the rosy cheek, and in the hurried motion of the glowing bosom, redolent with nature's purest, sweetest feelings.

To the great grief of the clergyman and his lovely daughters, their kind and estimable friend was called to town, at the command of his royal master; but some consolation was derived from the promise that he made, on his departure, that he would seize the first opportunity of laying the worthy minister's case before the Prince Regent, whose goodness of heart, whose universal philanthropy, and whose ardent zeal to promote the interest of the good and virtuous, were too universally known and practised to require any eulogium on his part.

A few weeks had scarcely elapsed from the departure of M'Mahon, when, to the inexpressible joy of the worthy clergyman, a letter was received from him, announcing that a vicarage had just fallen vacant in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis, which, being in the gift of the crown, he had obtained the presentation to it; and he anticipated the pleasure which he should enjoy, in beholding his esteemed friends in their new residence.

With what feelings of delight and boundless gratitude did these hapless victims to perfidy and lust receive this communication. M'Mahon was, at this moment, in their eyes little short of a demi-god; the hour was called a blessed one which threw him into their society; the unsuspecting and credulous father saw before him, for the remainder of his life, content, competency, and independence; the infatuated females saw a world of pleasure opening to their view; the dull monotony

of a country life was now complained of as inconsistent with the natural gaiety of youth; and although a tear did fall at bidding farewell to the hallowed scenes of their infantine years, to all the mementos of their joyous sports, and to the living memorials of those never-to-be-forgotten hours, which shine as brilliant stars in the dark canopy of human life, and the beams of which light us even on the brink of the grave: yet, the emotion was transient; the long, last, lingering look hung for a moment on the blissful home of their youth—the tops of the trees which overshadowed it were still present to their view; the spire of the house of God peering between them, in which, responsive to his holy calling, the venerable pastor had preached the Christian doctrine of peace on earth, and goodwill towards men; and in the quiet cemetery of which lay the mouldering bones of their sainted mother,—one look more—another,—it was the last on this earth,—'Farewell,' said the pastor—threw himself into the corner of the carriage, and wept*.

And could there be such fiends on earth bearing the human shape, who could with such satanic guilt so inhumanly destroy a happiness like this? Could the blessing of a refreshing sleep rest on the eyelids of that man, who, in the midnight hour, when the distraction of the diurnal scenes has ceased, and reflection with its scorpion stings forces itself upon the mind,—hears again the agonizing shriek of his conquered victim, feels, in fancy, again, the last expiring struggle, and sees the wild distracted look, piercing into vacancy for some spirit of consolation; that man may carry to the world the appearance of contentment and happiness, arising from an acquitting conscience, but in his own heart he has made for himself a hell; a consuming fire burns within him, to which no mortal power can offer a cooling drop—his death-bed is a rack, for *he dare not pray*—the spirits of his victims are hovering around him—

* We have purposely avoided mentioning the name of this family, as one of them is still living in the vicinity of Fulham, and there is grief enough on her heart that we should add a feather's weight to it, by any further exposure than the infamy of the transaction forces us to make public. We could, if we pleased, touch *one* chord, which with a horrid dissonance would penetrate to the core of her heart's core, and our indignation against the murderers of her terrestrial happiness urges us not to abstain; but there is a more powerful hand than ours, which will wipe her tears away, and on the heads of her destroyers will let loose the fire of his avenging lightnings. To him, and in his hands, we leave them.

terror at *what is coming* shines in his glazed eye—in convulsive horror, shuddering, he dies.

Amongst the celebrated females, who formed at this time the galaxy of beauty encircling the royal court (for purity of character was by no means a *sine qua non* of admission into the Ottomanic court of the Prince Regent, whatever it might have been into that of his mother) shone pre-eminently Mrs. Duff. Her title to that name had not been bestowed upon her by any ordinance of the church, but from her having been at an early age taken under the protection of a celebrated libertine of that name, who very condescendingly and becomingly transferred her into the arms of the Prince of Wales, who, considering that consistency of conduct is a very valuable and laudable trait in the character of a man, and particularly of a Prince, adhered to his usual habits in matters of this kind, and consigned the yielding beauty to the possession of a young sprig of nobility, just then bursting with all his eccentricities upon the fashionable world, and who in his career of dissipation and gambling has been the instrument of the ruin of a greater number of thoughtless and improvident young men, than any other individual in the whole volume of the peerage.

To follow this woman in her career of infamy, would be to stain our pages with a display of vice, scarcely credible but to those who have mingled in the scenes, and who have witnessed the extraordinary exertions which some people take in this world, to render themselves notorious, if not by virtue, at least by a systematic adherence to a course of vice, which, although tolerated by fashion and the depraved spirit of the times, still works like a gangrene on the moral body of society, to the total destruction of private and public happiness. We have seen this fashionable demirep from Fop's-alley, occupying her box on the third tier, surrounded by the libertines of the age, young and old, and particularly by a Reverend knight, the incumbent of a valuable living, seven miles west of London, and one of the worthy and upright chaplains of Carlton House, and who, being anxious to fill two characters at the same time, took upon himself those of a chaplain in ordinary, and an ordinary chaplain,—the only office of the former being to appear regularly at the ordinary which was then provided daily

at Carlton House for the gratification of the appetite of the official dignitaries of the church, amounting in number to about two hundred and fifty, and the effect of whose example and the efficacy of whose precepts were clearly distinguishable in the morals and habits of those inmates of the Palace who had the good fortune to be under their pastoral and their most holy care.

At the time when the seduction of the clergyman's daughters was resolved upon, we find this woman living in Gloucester-place, New-road, under the name of Mrs. General Hamilton. She was considered in the neighbourhood as a lady who had moved in the very highest circles, but the death of whose husband had obliged her to retrench her expenditure, and to contract the circle of her acquaintance; still, at the same time there were those busy bodies, those pests of every neighbourhood, who bruited it abroad that certain transactions were carried on in her house, which had no relationship to either morality or virtue. Of female acquaintance she appeared to be almost wholly bereft; but, on the other hand, her intimacy with the other sex was of the most enlarged description. But then it was said by her advocates (for a beautiful woman will always meet with a considerable number, except amongst the immediately ugly), that the widow of a general officer must, from the very nature of the profession of her husband, have contracted an intimacy with many of his brethren in arms; and what could be more natural than that, from a respect to the deceased, they should continue their attentions to his disconsolate widow. A real man of the world could not, however, have remained long in error, in regard to the character of this woman. With the knowledge which every woman of this kind possesses that she is discarded by the world, all her endeavours tend to show that she, in return, contemns the world. The barriers of virtue being broken down, and no possibility existing of her ever being again received within the pale of it, she acts from the immediate impulse of her passions, without reflecting for a moment as to the consequences which may result to herself or to others. The world at war with her, she is at war with the world. She laughs at the factitious institutions with which a bastard kind of morality has clogged the

operations of society; she sneers at the virtue of the prude, and rejoices, in the true spirit of revenge, if, by her arts, she can reduce another female to the same condition as herself. With the knowledge that the world holds her bad, she has no encouragement to induce that world to alter its opinion; and, if the heart of such a woman be naturally prone to vice (for we hold not every fallen woman a vicious one), the mischief which she can commit in the destruction of individual happiness can only be compared to the operations of the mole, whose ravages are not immediately seen, but, on a sudden, they break forth, and no after-remedy can repair the damage which has been done.

We have been obliged thus to enter at large into the character of this woman, as she was a principal actress in the deep tragedy which we are now reciting. She was one of those creatures—the disgrace of her sex—who, for the sake of private emolument, will take upon themselves the scandalous office of being the first to sap the foundation of female virtue; and, by a cool and deliberate system of villainous stratagem—by machinations and snares beyond the inexperience of youth to compete with—to sacrifice her blooming victim on the unhallowed altar of a prince's lust.

We heard it said, by the late Duke of Queensbury, that there never was a female, married or single, whichever attracted his fancy, whom this woman did not ultimately succeed in obtaining for him; and the same character may, with the greatest truth, be given of her by the Prince of Wales. A systematic seducer knows well that an artful, intriguing woman will do more in one day towards effecting the ruin of female innocence, than he would himself be able to effect in a month. The virtuous and innocent girl feels an alarm at the first bold advances of the seducer; her innate sense of modesty rises in opposition to them; the spirit of virtue, still conscious of its strength, interposes its all-powerful shield; and if a deep affection—that potent and irresistible auxiliary—interferes not with its influence, the brilliance of the gem may be retained, and its purity unsullied by any art or force that can be brought against it.

Differently, however, is it constituted when the aid of a pro-

fessional female seducer is called in to bring the first stain upon the purity of the gem, and slowly and gradually to efface it altogether. The danger is not suspected which lies in the artful expression—in the ambiguous insinuation—in the apparent endeavour not to give a shock to an innate sense of modesty and virtue. The first blush is the first indication of a wound which that modesty has received; it is a silent confession that a feeling has been excited of which the artful and vigilant intriguante has only to take the proper advantage, and the half, and the most difficult part of her task is accomplished.

To John M'Mahon, and other such purveyors to the royal pleasures, a woman of this description was invaluable; and, in all cases of extreme difficulty, she was resorted to as the sheet-anchor on which they could rely for the consummation of their wishes. That the seduction of one or both of the clergyman's daughters would be a matter of difficulty was at once apparent to the wily courtier. The vigilance of a parent was to be lulled—scruples were to be overcome, which fastidiousness, or an ignorance of the manners of high life, might throw in the way. A rusticated beauty, who has breathed no other air than that of her paternal fields, brought on a sudden to the din and splendour of the metropolis, is like a transplanted flower—it is sometimes long before she can assimilate herself to her new condition—she feels herself in a world of strangers, and is apt to form an opinion of their respective characters according to the dictates of her own unsophisticated mind. Simple, candid, and sincere herself, she is not able to discriminate between truth and flattery; and, mistaking the one for the other, the weakness of the female character is basely taken advantage of, to effect the destruction of the only remaining principles of virtue and innocence.

In the essentials which go to form the human character, the two girls differed widely from each other; nor did this difference escape the experienced eye of M'Mahon. The elder was all fire—all energy: there was a vivacity of spirit about her which seemed to fit her for an intercourse with the great world, at the same time that it enhanced the difficulty in the accomplishment of her ruin. There appeared also a firm-

ness and decision in her character which led M'Mahon to draw the inference that, if she had once formed a resolution, she could not be brought easily to deviate from it. And how was a character of this description to be won? and, if won, how was it to be retained? Was passion, or affection, to be excited? Both, it is true, lead to the same result; but the former, although it may be the shorter road, is not always the most certain in its effects. The latter is the effect of time—though sudden in some cases; but, being once established, the conquest soon follows.

Her general demeanour seemed to announce that she was conscious to herself that she could *command* the love of her admirers, without any studied art or professed inclination to *acquire* it. The gossips of her native village had lauded her beauty—her mirror had not belied their praises. A novel, which now and then was obtained by stealth from a circulating library at Marlborough, had inflamed her naturally romantic mind with the extravagant idea of the irresistibility of female beauty; and perceiving that the louts and clodpoles, by whom she had hitherto been surrounded, had no pretensions whatever to become the heroes of her 'love's tale,' she longed for her transition to another sphere, where the fulness of her personal charms would make their proper impression, and the glowing visions of her secret thoughts assume the form of reality.

That this was a frame and temper of mind dangerous in the extreme to its possessor must be self-evident; that it was a weakness, which a woman of the penetration of Mrs. Hamilton would know how to turn to the advantage of *her employers*, is too unfortunately verified by the sequel.

The younger of these lovely girls was to her sister what the moon is to the sun. There was a soft and mellowed chasteness beaming from her eye, which told of a vestal flame that glowed within, pure as the beam when it leaves the source of light, and falling on the human heart with all its heavenly influence.

> Fitted or to shine in courts,
> With an affected grace, or walk the plain,
> With innocence and meditation join'd
> In soft assemblage,

she grew up under the eye of an affectionate and indulgent parent, his dearest, proudest hope. Her whole heart appeared to be vivified with affection ; and, like the ivy, her whole study seemed to be to find some kindred object to which she could cling, and having once clasped it, to be so identified with its existence, that the same power which destroyed the one should also destroy the other.

Such were the characters now destined to fall a sacrifice to the profligate and libertine habits of a British prince. The obligations which this virtuous family conceived themselves to lie under to John M'Mahon—the kind and disinterested promoter of their future welfare, were further increased by the attention which he paid to their comfort and convenience immediately on their arrival in the metropolis ; he having informed them that he had procured them lodgings at the house of a Mrs. Hamilton, a widow lady of the highest respectability, and where all the comforts of a genteel establishment would be afforded them.

To the house, therefore, of Mrs. Hamilton, the clergyman repaired with his daughters ; and, the day after their arrival, they were delighted to receive a visit from their kind and generous benefactor. He assured the worthy pastor that the necessary arrangements were going on for his induction into his new benefice ; and that, in the interim, his time, and that of his daughters, might be agreeably employed in visiting the different places of amusement in the metropolis, to which, under the auspices of Mrs. Hamilton, it would confer the highest degree of pleasure upon him to be their conductor and companion.

The hearts of the two girls, now on the eve of being introduced to scenes of gaiety and dissipation, bounded with all the warmth of youthful expectation. Anticipation of new and yet untasted pleasures sparkled in their eyes with every opening day ; and the kind and maternal solicitude which Mrs. Hamilton evinced, on every occasion in which their comfort or health was concerned, would have lulled the vigilance and suspicions of the most scrupulous parent. The first step was gained—confidence was established—and gradually and im-

perceptibly approached the last tragic scene of the eventful drama.

Amongst the numerous visiters who attended the evening parties of Mrs. Hamilton, was one individual whose elegance of manners, personal endowments, vivacity of spirit, and refined conversation, attracted the particular attention of the youthful beauties. He was introduced by that best of men, and kindest of friends, Sir John M'Mahon, as Colonel Fox, a gentleman allied to one of the noblest families of the kingdom, and possessed of a large independent fortune. The circumstance that, in the evenings when Colonel Fox graced the domestic circle with his presence, no other visiter was ever admitted, was not considered by the pastor and his daughters as deserving of their particular notice. It could not be the effect of design or premeditation; for, to all appearances, his visits were merely accidental—a kind of *en passant* affair—and the additional circumstance, that he was generally accompanied by his friend M'Mahon set all doubt at rest, on their part, of any intended disguise or concealment.

It may be almost needless to state that this Colonel Fox was the Prince of Wales; and it must not be supposed that 'the most accomplished gentleman of Europe' failed in making that impression on the hearts of the clergyman's daughters, which his superior endowments had so often effected on the hearts of their fellow-women. The great difficulty, however, lay in so dividing his attentions that neither of them should assume that she was the favoured object of his affection. If a present were made to the one, another, proportionably rich and costly, was made to the other. If, on one evening, a confidential *tête-à-tête* took place with the elder sister, on the following evening his attentions appeared to be studiously directed to the younger. Thus both of them were inhaling a poison destructive of their internal peace, at the same time that they were preparing the road for the destruction of their innocence. Mrs. Hamilton, by false representations and artful inuendoes, contrived to keep up this delusion between her unsuspecting victims, at the same time that she extracted from them that secret which a woman generally tells the last, and

which, when told, forms the most interesting and memorable epoch of her life. The plans were verging fast to maturity; the presence of the worthy minister operated, however, in some degree, as a drawback to their final accomplishment. His removal was, therefore, necessary; and he was consequently informed that an unexpected obstacle had arisen in the presentation of the benefice which had fallen vacant; but that an advowson of considerable value had devolved to the crown, in a village in Leicestershire, to which, if he pleased, his induction could be instantly confirmed. This intelligence was received by the two girls with evident marks of grief—it was removing them again to the dull and monotonous scenes of a country life, and from an object from whom a separation was regarded as the greatest calamity that could befal them.

It was, however, proposed to the credulous minister, that he should himself take a personal survey of his intended benefice, previously to the confirmation of the grant; and that, in the mean time, his daughters should remain under the hospitable roof of Mrs. Hamilton, who, during the absence of their parent, would watch over their personal interests with all the anxious solicitude of a mother. Joy again sparkled in the eyes of the lovely girls, and they saw their father depart, little thinking that the affectionate kiss which he then gave them was the last which their lips would ever receive from him in this world.

One morning M'Mahon called at an earlier hour than usual, on the plea of having some important business to transact with Mrs. Hamilton, relative to the affairs of her late husband, which rendered it advisable that she should see her solicitor immediately on the subject. The carriage was instantly ordered, and, whilst M'Mahon consented to remain as the companion of the younger, Mrs. Hamilton set off with the elder of the girls, on her pretended visit to the attorney. 'We will drive first to Taylor's, in Bond-street,' said Mrs. Hamilton, 'as he has some commissions for me to execute;' and, accordingly, they were driven to that infamous resort of titled demi-reps and fashionable prostitutes. Mrs. Hamilton and her beautiful protegée were requested by the obsequious and accommodating shoemaker to walk up into the drawing-room,

but which Mrs. Hamilton soon left again, pretending that she had some private business to transact with Taylor. Returning in a few minutes, she exclaimed, 'How truly fortunate we are: Colonel Fox has just entered the shop, and, being apprised of your being here, he has solicited permission to keep you company, until I return from my solicitor's: you cannot refuse the request;' and, without waiting for a reply, she left the room.

The lovely, blushing girl, so taken by surprise, was, in fact, scarcely able to reply; wavering between hope and fear—prompted, by a sense of shame and modesty to refuse—influenced by the commanding voice of an ardent attachment, willing to grant it. The beatings of her heart were audible, as she heard the approaching footsteps of the man to whom, in secret, she offered up her virgin vows, and by whom to be beloved she should consider as the attainment of the dearest of her earthly hopes. Irresistible in the power of his personal accomplishments, the trembling victim received her destroyer. In the delirium of passion he seized her hand—vowed that no other love should ever fill his heart—that in the return of his love was centred the future happiness of his life—and that, being once gained, he envied not the distinctions of rank, nor all the splendour of a prince's throne.

Confusion—embarrassment—a perturbation yet unknown—betrayed to the experienced seducer the emotions of her virgin heart. As yet, no confession had escaped her lips; but there is a language more eloquent than words. It spoke in the blush on her cheek—in the tremor of her whole frame—in the faint and powerless opposition to the warm and glowing kiss which was implanted on her lips.

In this hour rang the knell of her maiden innocence; the seducer saw the victory was his, but he advanced towards it gradually and cautiously. The fated hour at length came, and another victim was added to the insatiable passion of the royal voluptuary.

We will here draw the veil over the remaining part of this tragical story. The recital of the various stratagems which were used to draw the two sisters within the power of the seducer would be one continued display of scenes revolting to

humanity and the common feelings of our nature. The younger is still living; and, in charity for the sufferings she has endured, and still endures, we will not give any further clue by which a spirit of malicious curiosity could be satisfied, and those wounds be made to bleed afresh, the pain of which has been partially mitigated by the lenient hand of time.

From this episode, we return to matters of a more public nature, the most prominent of which, at this period, were the dissensions which exhibited themselves amongst the royal family, in consequence of the disputes existing between the Prince and Princess of Wales. The cause of this ill-fated woman appears to have been singularly treated by the ministers of the day, for the same men, who out of office advocated her cause, were no sooner elevated to power than they abandoned her to all the attacks of her enemies, and left her as it were to fight single-handed against the confederate power of the phalanx of Carlton House, and all its subordinate agents.

The affair of the Princess was brought under the consideration of parliament on the 20th April, 1812, when a message was sent to the Commons from the Prince Regent, requesting the House to take into consideration the propriety of making such a provision for their Royal Highnesses the Princesses as might be thought suitable. On the following Monday, the 23rd, an animated discussion took place, but no mention was made of the Princess of Wales. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the House to resolve itself into a committee of supply for the purpose of taking into consideration the message of the Prince Regent, Mr. Creevy objected to the Speaker leaving the chair, and in the course of his speech, alluding to the situation of the Prince and Princess of Wales, he said, that in regard to their separation, he, on this occasion had nothing to do with it, although it did strike him as a little extraordinary, that no additional sum had been given to the future queen of Great Britain, at the time her august spouse was invested with the royal dignity.

To which the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that as the situation of the Princess of Wales had been referred to, it

would perhaps not be improper here to state what had been the conduct of the Prince Regent, with regard to the pecuniary concerns of her Royal Highness. In the year 1809, a representation was made to the Duke of Portland, who then held the situation he (Mr. Perceval) had now the honour to occupy, that debts were due to various persons from the Princess of Wales, for which she had no means of providing. An investigation consequently took place, the result of which was, that it was found the debts amounted to 41,000*l.*; at that period the allowance to her Royal Highness was an annuity of 12,000*l.*, and 5000*l.* a year for pin-money. This statement was laid before the Prince of Wales, who immediately determined to pay the sum of 41,000*l.*, and besides augmented the annuity of her Royal Highness to 17,000*l.* On further inquiry it was discovered that a further sum of 8000*l.* was due to certain creditors of the Princess of Wales, whom the Prince also resolved to pay, but the small amount of 2000*l.* afterwards claimed as a further debt due from her Royal Highness, was left to be discharged out of the savings of her income. At this time too, it should not be forgotten that his Royal Highness had many pecuniary difficulties to encounter, which were now in a mode of settlement, as the additional sum of 60,000*l.*, which had been the revenue of the Prince previously to the Regency, had been placed at the disposal of commissioners appointed under the seal, to liquidate the debts of his Royal Highness.

To this statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Tierney replied, in his usual sarcastic manner, that he did not know why the Princess of Wales appeared in her present situation. There was, indeed, a talk of a separation, and he had no doubt every gentleman had heard of it; the House, however, knew nothing of such a separation, but it had a right to demand why, when so much was voted for the support of regal pomp and splendour, no pomp and splendour were to be found. Of the rumoured separation he should say nothing, he knew not whether it was to be an amicable one or not, but he had no doubt, if such a thing was in contemplation, there were sufficient grounds for it, at least he hoped so. The right honourable gentleman, however, (Mr. Perceval,) knew a great deal about it—he had acted as counsel in that inves-

tigation so much talked of, and it was surprising that he should now sit mute, and hear all this whispered about his favourite Princess, his client, and not have one word to say in her defence. He should not observe more upon that topic, but he would add what struck him very forcibly, that there was now a person in this country representing the Prince Regent's wife, a person who was as much Queen as he was King, and who was passed over in a most extraordinary manner.

Mr. Bennet also hoped that some information would be given respecting the Princess of Wales—she was the wife of the Prince Regent, and what then had happened to place the Princess of Wales in such a degrading situation? He also alluded to the suppression of books intended for her vindication, and which partook so much of the nature of libels, that large sums of money were given for suppressed copies of those libellous books. He therefore expected that the right honourable gentleman would furnish the House with some information on this very interesting subject.

Mr. Whitbread, with his usual ability, attacked the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the previous legal adviser and advocate of the Princess of Wales, and said that it was a just cause of alarm to the country, that notwithstanding all the grants which they had so lately made to the Prince Regent, if that happy restoration took place, which every person in the country most anxiously wished for, the right honourable gentleman would still come down to the house with fresh demands upon the people. In allusion to the celebrated book, Mr. Whitbread said that measures were taken that not only the subjects of this kingdom, but all the continent of Europe should be made acquainted with the contents of it, nevertheless the right honourable gentleman now felt an inclination to be mute, where he intended to have ten thousand tongues before.

In reply to these observations, Mr. Perceval said, that with regard to the separation of the royal persons, he should say nothing. He had, however, no objection to state, that neither as counsel to her Royal Highness, nor as minister, nor in any other capacity, could he recollect any thing to bring as a charge against her Royal Highness, nor did he entertain any opinion calculated to throw the slightest reflection upon her.

Further than this he should not state. As to the situation of her Royal Highness, he had no instruction to propose any additional grant, but if parliament could be induced to think favourably of the measure, he for one should be inclined to give that disposition full effect.

And after this unequivocal avowal of the innocence of the Princess of Wales, could Mr. Perceval expect to be continued long at the head of the government of the Prince Regent, could the Prince co-operate cordially with that man, could he bestow his confidence upon that individual who, in his place in the House of Commons as minister, and as a private person, dared to declare in the face of the nation, that he was ignorant of any charge that could be made against the Princess of Wales inculpatory of her character, at the same time that she was treated in every respect by the Regent himself as a guilty woman, and suffering every species of odium and obloquy as the consequence of that guilt. In open parliament, Mr. Perceval pronounced the Princess of Wales as having committed no act within his knowledge tending to degrade her in the estimation of the people or of her husband; then by what terms was the conduct of her husband towards her to be stigmatized?—in what light did the minister of the Prince Regent represent his royal master, to the legislative assembly of the nation, and consequently before the whole world, who without any just cause or reason could banish an innocent wife from his presence—from the court, of which she was one of the most distinguished members—from that station in society to which her birth and rank entitled her, and consign her to the ruthless attacks of pensioned hirelings, and suborned traducers?

The whole conduct of Mr. Perceval in this memorable affair reflects no great lustre upon his character, neither as a man nor as a politician, and it exposes in a very extraordinary manner the versatility and tergiversation of men in power. Before he accepted office, he was loud in his protestations of the Princess's innocence; he exhibited himself as her avowed champion; assisted her with all the subtlety of his legal knowledge—but he had no sooner grasped the seals of office, than a most extraordinary offuscation of his memory took place; and although he still adhered to the declaration of her innocence, yet he

had remembered to forget every other circumstance which had come to his knowledge, or which could tend to reconcile in the minds of the representatives of the people the glaring paradox of a woman living under the protection of the British laws, declared by the highest authorities of the land, after the most rigid and extensive scrutiny, to be innocent of all charges brought against her, and yet to be treated as if these charges had been proved to the fullest extent of their allegations, and that no doubt whatever existed of the depravity and moral turpitude of her character.

In a future part of this history, we shall be obliged to enter more fully into the question of the charges brought against the Princess of Wales; indeed, the present may be considered as only the preliminary proceedings, but which tended to prepare the minds of the people for that tragical and disgraceful spectacle which was in a short time to be presented before the eyes of an insulted and indignant nation.

On the third reading of the bill for granting an annuity to the Princess, Mr. Whitbread opposed it, saying, 'I have heard that the Queen is about to hold a drawing-room; I wish to know, is there to be any public appearance of the Princess of Wales? This is no private concern—the public have a right to demand why the acknowledged consort of their Regent does not appear in public as such—no affectation of delicacy can be permitted to stand in the way of a nation's anxiety upon a question of such national importance. If any man can satisfy the public upon this topic, it is the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval). They know him to have been, at one time, the zealous adviser and devoted adherent to the Princess of Wales. They believe him to have conscientiously undertaken her defence, to have written her vindication, to have penned that vindication, to have published it. That vindication is said to have involved in it an attack upon her royal consort; it was well known to have been an attack upon his Royal Highness, and the Regent's first minister is known to have been the author of it; and, after he had published it—after it had been read by one and by one hundred—it was bought up at an enormous expense—bought up by the private secretary of the right honourable gentleman. I ask him now, does he retain

his former opinions of the unexceptionable conduct of the Princess of Wales? I ask him if he did not lately, in this house, solemnly record his confirmation of that opinion; and if it is now what it was the other night? I call upon him to explain, if he can, his apparent desertion of her just claims to that respect, notice, provision, and consideration, due to the undoubted Princess Regent of these realms. These are questions which, as he values his own consistency—as he values the character and claims of the Princess—and as he respects the Prince, his master, he is bound to answer.'

To this challenge Mr. Perceval made no reply; and, after considerable opposition, the bill was read a third time, and passed.

It has been the pride of Englishmen to boast that, by virtue of their political constitution, they are in the enjoyment of greater privileges than any other civilized nation; and it has never been denied that the right of petitioning the monarch for the redress of any private or public grievance may be considered as not the least valuable privilege in the charter of an Englishman's birthright. Previously to the year 1775, it had been the custom of the monarch to receive the addresses of the Livery of London upon the throne, and not, as was subsequently the case, at a levee, or through the deceptive medium of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, which latter vehicle of addressing the Sovereign is tantamount to addressing the Secretary himself; for, in the majority of cases, that highly responsible officer takes upon himself the office of royalty, and, as its *locum tenens*, often issues the resolutions, or, as it may with greater propriety be termed, the *negatives* of royalty, without royalty knowing anything at all about the matter. It would be an untruth to declare that no petitions whatever are submitted to the personal consideration and decision of the Sovereign; but it would be equally an untruth to declare that all that are consigned to the care of the Secretary of State reach their intended destination. We know it to be the etiquette of royalty never to give a decided negative, but the people of this country conceive that this senseless etiquette would be very often 'more honoured in the breach than the observance;' nevertheless, the monarch of this country

who refuses to receive the petitions of his people, considering that the channel of those petitions is through the office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, acts in direct contravention of the principles which seated the House of Brunswick on the throne of these realms, and exposes himself to the indignation of an insulted people. It is the fashion to stigmatize Paul II. of Russia as a tyrant, a madman, and a barbarian: he may have enacted all these characters on particular occasions; but we speak from personal knowledge, when we assert that he dedicated two hours every morning to the consideration of private petitions, which he would not allow any officer, however high his situation, to open or peruse before he had issued his commands upon the subject of them*. We dispute not that we enjoy the semblance of liberties, greater than any that exist under those governments which, in our conceit, we are often too prone to characterize as tyrannical and despotic; but the question is by no means a settled one, whether that semblance be not in some particulars all that we do enjoy.

We have been led into these reflections, by the circumstance which displayed itself in the month of April, 1812, when the Livery of the city of London, acting upon their privilege of presenting their petitions to the Sovereign on the throne, were informed that the exercise of that privilege would not be allowed them; which refusal increased the unpopularity of the Regent, and subjected his ministers to the severe animadversions of the civic body.

The above circumstance arose from a numerous meeting of the Livery of London, which was held on the 9th March, to

* On one occasion, we were arrested by the officers of the police at Demuth's Hotel, in Petersburg, for the infraction of an ukase, issued by Paul himself, prohibiting the introduction of English shot, by private hands, into the metropolis, and with the entire ignorance of the existence of such an ukase, we were detected in having been the means of conveying two bags of the prohibited article from Cronstadt, intrusted to our care by a fellow-passenger in the same ship in which we sailed from London, and who was himself aware that detection might end in banishment to Siberia. A petition, on the evening of our arrest, was put into the Emperor's box. The very next morning the case was examined, and finding that we had been made the dupe of another person, a discharge was instantly sent; but Mr. Cotton, the delinquent, judged it to be his interest to return with all possible speed to England. We recommend this instance of summary justice to the consideration of the very enlightened and civilized members composing the official departments under the crown of Britain.

take into consideration the situation of the country; when twelve resolutions, complaining of the administration of the country, and praying the dismissal of the then ministers, were carried, and a petition to the same effect ordered to be presented to the Prince Regent. Another meeting was held on the 7th of April, when the Lord Mayor stated that the Prince Regent had thought proper, in conformity to the usage of his royal father since 1775, to decline receiving their petition on the throne. The report of the sheriffs was then read, which stated, that they had waited on the Prince Regent and delivered the following message: 'May it please your Royal Highness, we are ordered by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, to wait upon your Royal Highness, humbly to know when you will be pleased to receive their humble address and petition.' To which his Royal Highness replied: 'I shall receive your petition at my levee to-morrow se'nnight, in the usual way.' One of the sheriffs then addressed the Prince Regent in the following words: 'Will your Royal Highness allow us, officially placed, as we are, in your royal presence, as the organ and servants of the Livery of London, humbly to ask, whether it is intended to receive the deputation appointed by the Common Hall, at the levee, to present their address?' The Prince Regent answered: 'There are certain forms attending that; but I think the best way will be for me to communicate with the Secretary of State, who will inform you.' In consequence of this answer, the sheriffs waited on Mr. Ryder next day, who informed them that their petition would be received like other petitions from town or country. Twelve resolutions were then carried, in which it was observed that the right of the Livery was never disputed until 1775, the period of Wilkes' popularity, and that since two addresses had been received from the court of lieutenancy, a body inferior to the Livery of London; and that, their being presented and received upon the throne, the petitioners have the satisfaction of knowing that their complaints are heard.

This was not the only struggle which took place between prescriptive rights and royal prerogatives, which distinguished the era of the regency. On all occasions when the latter

could be exercised, or put into actual force, the former were crushed, or so divested of their authority, that they became as it were a dead letter. The contempt or infraction of a positive right enjoyed by the people, either individually or in a corporate capacity, is a dangerous act on the part of a monarch, who is, in the constitution of England, as much amenable to the laws as the meanest of his subjects. It was not, however, the first inroad which was made upon the constitution during the reign of George IV., and which, from the nature of the principle itself, will render him, in the eye of history, the most unconstitutional monarch of the House of Brunswick.

As the period approached at which the restrictions of the Prince Regent were to terminate, the curiosity and interest of the public in general were strongly excited; while the expectations, the hopes, the apprehensions, and the fears of the different political parties were respectively roused, according to the light in which they viewed the conduct that the Prince had pursued while his powers were limited and restricted, and the inferences which they drew from that conduct.

It was well known that when the Prince had resolved to continue Mr. Perceval as prime minister, he had considered himself as acting solely as his father's agent, and had expressly declared that a regard to his father's plans, and what he might reasonably suppose would have been his wishes, had alone prompted him to that measure. These motives had not only been expressly and completely laid open to Mr. Perceval, when the Prince communicated to him his wishes that he would continue in power, but every opportunity seemed to be taken of conveying to Mr. Perceval's apprehension and feelings, in a manner he could not misunderstand, and which must have been sufficiently grating and humiliating to him, the Prince's dislike to him, and his attachment to his old political and personal friends.

We have before alluded to the secret cause of this dislike, but as yet it was only guessed at by those who were not admitted immediately behind the scenes where the principal performers were rehearsing the parts which they would be shortly called upon to perform. Only a very few months, however, elapsed,

before it was strongly rumoured, that the Regent's feelings and conduct towards Mr. Perceval were undergoing a change; and this rumour gained strength, and at last appeared with such open and unequivocal proofs, that it could no longer be doubted. Still the old friends of the Prince clung to the hopes they had so long and fondly cherished; still they expected, and openly declared that they expected, that the Prince would choose them as his ministers whenever he could act of his own entire free will. As, however, there were instances of his public conduct, and proofs of his forming an attachment, to Mr. Perceval, the former of which could not easily or clearly be reconciled to his supposed Whig principles, and the latter were undoubtedly indicative that his dislike to Mr. Perceval was on the wane, and was about to be succeeded by sentiments of a directly opposite nature—his old friends were compelled to have recourse to many hypotheses, in order to satisfy themselves and the public that they had still reason to entertain hopes that they continued to be the Regent's favourites, and would soon be his ministers.

With respect to the public measures which the Prince pursued, there was not much difficulty in accounting for them; they were the measures of his ministers, not his own. He sanctioned them, indeed, but he did not approve of them; and he sanctioned them only because, in his actions as Regent, he wished entirely to lose sight of his own opinions and principles, and to conduct himself solely and most strictly in the rules he had laid down, *viz.* as the agent of his father. But his old friends went further in explanation and defence of his public conduct, and the nation in general, at first, was disposed to go along with them; for although the Regent, in what might strictly and properly be considered as the continuation of his father's measures, put himself completely into the hands of his ministers, and did not even express a wish to have a will of his own, yet, in other cases of a less important nature, he manifested his attachment to his old principles. As these instances were rather sought after by him, than merely taken advantage of when they occurred, and as they were employed, in the most open and decisive manner, to publish to the nation his sentiments and

feelings, it was very natural for his old friends, and for the country at large, to regard them as proofs of his adherence to the political doctrines in which he had been brought up.

It was remarked, however, at the time, that Mr. Perceval and his friends received only with a smile of a very ambiguous or rather alarming character and import, the appeal to these instances of the Prince's consistency and steadiness, which was made to them with insulting triumph by the Opposition; they pretended, indeed, that they had no hopes of continuing in office after the restrictions should be taken off, but their actions did not correspond with their language, and it was generally supposed, long before this period arrived, that their apprehensions on this point had completely vanished. Indeed, the change in the Prince's sentiments and behaviour to them, on which, of course, they rested their hopes, was growing daily more decidedly marked and more openly displayed; from complete dislike, manifested not in the most dignified nor decorous manner, he gradually passed to endurance; from mere endurance to something like interest and attachment; and had not the change been too rapid and violent, and the character of the Prince not such as justified secure and complete dependence, it might fairly have been inferred, some time before the restrictions ceased, that the Opposition and the Prince were sundered for ever, and that Mr. Perceval would continue his minister, and Mr. Perceval would become his politics.

As might naturally be expected, the feelings and language of the court party changed as the change in the Prince became more marked and evident; his former Whig principles were forgotten, as they were ascribed solely to the influence of those men to whom, in the blind and warm confidence of youth, he had given up his mind and conduct. He was, however, now about to make ample atonement for the venial errors of his former life; and as that portion of his life had in some degree resembled the conduct of Henry V. while Prince of Wales, his new flatterers did not hesitate to predict, that when he came to the throne, the same splendour of public success, the same vigorous administration of affairs, and the same reform of private conduct, would be witnessed by an admiring nation.

The Opposition durst not allow their language to be changed

respecting him, whatever change their sentiments and hopes might have undergone. Until the period arrived when the restrictions ceased, it was prudent in them still to continue the language of flattery and expectation; but the sore and awkward manner in which they rebutted or eluded the proofs of his attachment to Mr. Perceval, and the slights he put upon his own party, and the laboured, though unsuccessful attempts which they made to convince the world that they still expected to be his ministers, sufficiently indicated the state of their feelings, and the bitter disappointment under which they writhed.

Such was the state of political feeling, and the nature and tendency of political expectation, with regard to the Prince, among the great leading parties in parliament: it is not, however, so easy to ascertain and describe the feelings and expectations of the nation at large on this interesting and important subject. The Prince had certainly, for a long time, been regarded by them with every wish to believe him both intelligent, and in his principles radically good: that great degree of candour, which with the British nation is very cheerfully and liberally spread over the follies and faults of their sovereigns, had ascribed the behaviour and dispositions in his youth, which they could not approve, to the natural tendency of that period of life, encouraged by bad example and stimulated by bad advisers; the manner in which he had been treated by his royal father also pleaded with them as an apology for his faults; he had been kept, with something very like jealousy and suspicion, from all participation in public business; no care had been taken to form those habits of attention and application which it would be necessary to call into immediate and active service as soon as he should succeed to the throne. The nation recollected, that when he had offered to fight at the head of his regiment for his country on the alarm of an invasion, his offer had been haughtily and sullenly repulsed;—they recollected all these things, and determined to abstain from all severe censure, if, while Sovereign or Regent, he did not discover those regular habits and that attention to business which had distinguished his father.

But while they were disposed to overlook and pardon much,

they had limits to their candour. They reasonably supposed that the events of the French revolution had read to sovereigns and princes such a lesson as would indelibly impress on their conviction and memory the absolute necessity for, at least, a decorous mode of life. This lesson, they hoped, would counteract, in some degree, the habits of idleness and dissipation which a youth who had been neglected, or who had neglected himself, had formed and indulged. They expected the *appearance* of propriety and decorum from their sovereign, if they did not actually exist: on these points they were disposed, also, to be rather strict in their expectations, from another cause. George III. had always been distinguished for propriety of domestic and private conduct; and his unpopularity had been often redeemed, or lessened, by the recollection of his virtues as a father and a husband, and the regularity, temperance, and decorum which he displayed as a man. On the whole, therefore, the nation (although, as has been remarked, strongly disposed to regard their sovereigns with a candid eye, and to make allowance for their follies and foibles) tried the Prince by rather a severe test, when they applied to him the example of his father, and expected that the calamities and disgrace which the French revolution had shed on most of the crowned heads of Europe would dispose and enable him to break the fetters of habits long formed, and, at his time of life, become almost a second nature.

Such may be regarded as the feelings of the reflecting and considerate part of the nation, with respect to the Prince; and, consistently with these feelings, they were more inclined to approve than censure his conduct in retaining Mr. Perceval in his ministry, when he first became Regent: they looked upon it as a proof and instance of more regard to his father's memory (for he might almost be considered as dead to all the purposes of public life) than they had expected from the son. Such of the nation as were attached to the principles and conduct of Mr. Perceval, of course, had an additional motive for applauding the Prince for not changing his Majesty's ministers; but even that part of it who were disposed to condemn the measures which had been pursued during the reign of

George III., and the principles on which those measures had been grounded and justified, though, at first, disappointment and chagrin might have irritated their feelings against the Prince for not dismissing Mr. Perceval, yet, on cool reflection, they rather approved than condemned. They were convinced they ought not to consider this action as a proof, or even a presumption, of the plan he would pursue when he became unrestricted Regent; and, ascribing it to the motive which the Prince himself had expressly declared alone actuated him—respect for his father—the private character of the Regent rose in their estimation; while they fondly cherished the belief, that the steadiness and consistency of his public conduct could not fairly nor justly be impeached. But when, in the course of the restricted regency, the nation witnessed his dislike to Mr. Perceval fast passing away—when they afterwards, before many months had elapsed, had undoubted proofs that the Prince had absolutely forsaken his old friends, and thrown himself into the arms of his father's minister; and when it was evident that the public measures of Mr. Perceval were sanctioned by the Regent, not merely in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, but because they met his own opinions, and received his own approbation—all expressed their extreme surprise: while, in some, surprise was mixed with disappointment and vexation—in others, joy, exultation, and hope. It may, however, be remarked, that even those who rejoiced in the change of sentiment which had taken place in the Prince, had their joy mingled, and occasionally interrupted, with apprehension and suspicion: when they reflected on the uncalled-for and vehement proofs which, only a short time before, the Prince had given of his attachment to Whig principles, they could not keep down a suspicion that his change was not sincere, or an apprehension that, if sincere, it would not be permanent.

In the mean time, the month of February, towards the termination of which the restrictions were to expire, approached and commenced; and no arrangements appeared to have been made for a total, or even partial change of ministry. The Opposition, however, even under these unpromising circum-

stances, still held out the idea that the Prince would take them into power: they rather rudely and imprudently called to his recollection, and to that of the nation, the sentiments which were contained in his celebrated letter to Mr. Perceval, when he desired him to continue minister: they contended, in the newspapers known to be devoted to them, and to be employed to express their opinions, that it was impossible the Prince could retain the present ministers in power; that to suppose so would be a libel on his character; and that the more natural, as well as the more honourable expectation was, that he would, with promptitude and pleasure, embrace the earliest opportunity of freeing himself from men whom he had retained in power against his own inclinations, solely from causes and reasons which no longer existed. As there is no ground for supposing that the Regent had opened his mind to Mr. Perceval and his colleagues, respecting the plan he meant to pursue when he became unrestricted Regent, whatever inference they might have drawn from his general behaviour towards them, they thought it prudent, as well as decorous, to prepare for their removal. Their conduct on this delicate and trying occasion, therefore, was more circumspect and proper than that of the Opposition; and, to a person who closely and narrowly watched both parties, the suspicion would almost unavoidably occur, that Mr. Perceval and his friends had actually more hope and confidence, in the midst of their silent preparations for removal, than the Opposition, in the midst of their blustering and avowed preparations for becoming ministers.

At length, however, the Prince took a decisive step in this important and long-delayed affair; and the character of this primary step, in several particulars, was such as could leave no doubt, in the minds of cool and impartial persons, that he did not wish the Opposition to come into power, and that, not wishing it, he had offered it to them in such a manner, and on such conditions, as he knew would render the offer utterly objectionable. In the first place, instead of communicating directly with either Lord Grey or Lord Grenville, who were the heads of the Opposition, he wrote the following letter to the Duke of York.

'My dearest Brother,—As the restrictions on the exercise of the royal authority will shortly expire, when I must make my arrangements for the future administration of the powers with which I am invested, I think it right to communicate to you those sentiments which I was withheld from expressing at an earlier period of the session, by my earnest desire that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of parliament, unmixed with any other consideration. I think it hardly necessary to call your recollection to the recent circumstances under which I assumed the authority delegated to me by parliament. At a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger, I was called upon to make a selection of persons to whom I should intrust the functions of the executive government. My sense of duty to our royal father solely decided that choice; and every private feeling gave way to considerations which admitted of no doubt or hesitation. I trust I acted, in that respect, as the genuine representative of the august person whose functions I was appointed to discharge; and I have the satisfaction of knowing that such was the opinion of persons for whose judgment and honourable principles I entertained the highest respect. In various instances, as you well know, where the law of the last session left me at full liberty, I waived any personal gratification, in order that his Majesty might resume, on his restoration to health, every power and prerogative belonging to his crown. I certainly am the last person in the kingdom to whom it can be permitted to despair of our royal father's recovery. A new era is now arrived, and I cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the events which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering in the loss of any of her possessions, by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire. The national faith has been preserved inviolate to our allies; and if character is strength, as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his Majesty's arms will show to the nations of the continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the Peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure that can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in support of it. I have no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify, no objects to attain, but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the

leading principle of my conduct (and I can appeal to the past, in evidence of what the future will be), I flatter myself I shall meet with the support of parliament, and of a candid and enlightened nation. Having made this communication of my sentiments in this new and extraordinary crisis of our affairs, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel, if some of those persons, with whom the early habits of my public life were formed, would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government. With such support, and aided by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain ever was engaged. You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to Lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will make them known to Lord Grenville. I am always, my dearest Frederick, your affectionate Brother,

(Signed) 'GEORGE, P. R.'

'*Carlton House, Feb.* 13, 1812.'

'P. S. I shall send a copy of this letter immediately to Mr. Perceval.'

The very plea on which this mode of communication was justified, afforded an additional proof that the Regent had lost all desire of employing the services of his old friends. It was stated that, according to usage and etiquette in such matters, he could not have written directly to Lord Grey or Lord Grenville, unless he had intended that the person so written to should become his prime minister, and should, in every particular, have the complete and uncontrolled arrangement of the cabinet. But, as the Prince did not mean either that Lord Grey or Lord Grenville, on the one side, or Mr. Perceval on the other, should be his prime minister, without a mutual understanding and arrangement between the parties, he did not think it proper to give such a proof that he wished any of them to be his prime minister, as would have been afforded by commanding them to form an administration. This plea, then, on which the mode of communication was justified, sufficiently indicated that the Prince did not wish Lords Grey and Grenville to come into power, because he must have known them sufficiently well to have been convinced that, unless they had the entire and uncontrolled arrangement of an administration, they would not form a part of it.

But, in the manner of the letter to the Duke of York, there was another proof (subordinate, indeed, to the one just discussed) that the Prince was cooled in his attachment to the Opposition; and that he intended to offer them the opportunity of coming into power, rather to keep up appearances, and not to break the letter of the promises which seemed to be implied in his communication to Mr. Perceval, when he first became Regent, than because he either wished or expected they would embrace it. After stating his sentiments on public affairs, and the kind of administration which he was desirous to form, the Prince, at the very conclusion of his letter, appears suddenly to recollect himself, and adds, 'You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to Lord Grey, *who, I have no doubt, will make them known to Lord Grenville.*' Now, as the Prince knew the close attachment between these two noblemen,—as his own observation and experience must have convinced him that this attachment would prevent the one from coming into power, if the other declined it, and that the character and disposition of Lord Grenville rendered him feelingly alive to any appearance of neglect,—could he have devised any other means more likely to be efficacious in disgusting or affronting Lord Grenville, than this bye mode of mentioning him at the very close of his letter? The dislike of the Prince to this nobleman is supposed to have arisen, in a great degree, from the very open and decisive part which his relations took against the Duke of York, in the affair of Mrs. Clarke.

On the 15th of February, Lords Grey and Grenville returned the following answer to the letter of the Prince Regent, addressed to the Duke of York.

'*February* 15, 1812.

'Sir,—We beg leave most humbly to express to your Royal Highness our dutiful acknowledgments for the gracious and condescending manner in which you have had the goodness to communicate to us the letter of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the subject of the arrangements to be now made for the future administration of the public affairs; and we take the liberty of availing ourselves of your gracious permission to address to your Royal Highness in this form what has occurred to us in consequence of that

communication. The Prince Regent, after expressing to your Royal Highness in that letter his sentiments on various public matters, has, in the concluding paragraph, condescended to intimate his wish that "some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his Royal Highness' hands, and constitute a part of his government:" and his Royal Highness is pleased to add, "that with such support, aided by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis, he would look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain has ever been engaged." On the other parts of his Royal Highness' letter we do not presume to offer any observations; but, in the concluding paragraph, in so far as we may venture to suppose ourselves included in the gracious wish which it expresses, we owe it, in obedience and duty to his Royal Highness, to explain ourselves with frankness and sincerity. We beg leave most earnestly to assure his Royal Highness, that no sacrifices, except those of honour and duty, could appear to us too great to be made, for the purpose of healing the divisions of our country, and uniting both its government and its people. All personal exclusion we entirely disclaim: we rest on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that we must express, without reserve, the impossibility of our uniting with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such union. His Royal Highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember that we have already twice acted on this impression: in 1809, on the proposition then made to us, under his Majesty's authority; and last year, when his Royal Highness was pleased to require our advice, respecting the formation of a new government. The reasons which we then humbly submitted to him are strengthened by the increasing dangers of the times; nor has there, down to this moment, appeared even any approximation towards such an agreement of opinion on the public interests, as can alone form a basis for the honourable union of parties previously opposed to each other. Into the details of these differences we are unwilling to enter; they embrace almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire. But his Royal Highness has, himself, been pleased to advert to the late deliberations of parliament on the affairs of Ireland. This is a subject, above all others, important in itself, and connected with the most pressing dangers. Far from concurring in the sentiments which his Majesty's ministers have, on that occasion, so recently expressed, we entertain opinions directly opposite: we are firmly persuaded of the necessity

of a total change in the present system of government in that country, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a portion of his Majesty's subjects still labour, on account of their religious opinions. To recommend to parliament this repeal, is the first advice which it would be our duty to offer to his Royal Highness; nor could we, even for the shortest time, make ourselves responsible for any further delay in the proposal of a measure, without which we could entertain no hopes of rendering ourselves useful to his Royal Highness or to our country. We have only, therefore, further to beg your Royal Highness to lay before his Royal Highness the Prince Regent the expression of our humble duty, and the sincere and respectful assurance of our earnest wishes for whatever may best promote the ease, honour, and advantage of his Royal Highness' government, and the success of his endeavours for the public welfare. We have the honour to be, &c.

'GREY.
'GRENVILLE.'

'*To his Royal Highness the Duke of York.*'

The result was what might naturally have been expected, from the manner, tone, and substance, both of the Regent's letter, and of the answer of Lords Grey and Grenville. The Regent had done what he considered to be his duty, rather than what inclination prompted him to do, by offering to include some of his old friends in the ministerial arrangements; they had declined the offer. That he deserted them, therefore, was not his fault; at least, it was hoped and expected that the nation would pardon, if they did not absolutely justify, the Prince's conduct on this occasion. So long, indeed, as it was expected that the King might speedily resume the reins of government, this line of conduct was conducive, on almost every supposition, to the public interest. A change, to be speedily followed by a counterchange, would have been much more hurtful than a temporary perseverance, even in a bad system. By this arrangement, however, ministers gained access to the Prince's person, and possessed themselves of the means of securing his favour, which they might naturally be expected to turn to their own advantage. Circumstances, also, at this juncture, proved peculiarly favourable to their interests. Events occurred which threw round the British

arms a lustre unrivalled since the days of Blenheim and Ramilies. In these successes, and in the hope which they offered to sinking Europe, the Prince saw the triumph of that system which had been supported by the men then in power against the determined and unremitting opposition of their political adversaries. This opposition of the latter had not been merely theoretical or parliamentary; they had been in office, and had acted steadily upon the principles which they avowed. There could be no doubt, therefore, that if the reins of power were committed to their hands, the Peninsular war would be either entirely discontinued, or very languidly maintained—a war which had yielded such a rich harvest of success and glory, and which, both on this account, and on account of the policy which dictated its commencement and continuance, was extremely popular in the British empire.

It is vain to allege that the sovereign, as a party man, is bound to adhere to his party. The duty which binds him exclusively to study the interests of his people is clearly paramount to every other, independently of which, much had happened to loosen the personal ties which had united the Prince to the heads of the Opposition. Fox was no more—Sheridan was disregarded, and thrown entirely out of the circle. The leading members of the Opposition were men more respectable, indeed, in their private character, but not possessed of those engaging qualities, and that suavity of manners, which had distinguished their predecessors.

The dispositions of monarchs are anxiously and eagerly watched, particularly in this country, in which a wholesome jealousy exists as to any step which might be taken on the part of the sovereign, tending to encroach on the rights and liberties of the subject. The public, at this period of our history, were acutely intent upon the actions of the Prince Regent, not so much in a private as a political sense; they were aware of the turn which his mind had taken, and the time was fast approaching when it was to be openly manifested. The restrictions were on the eve of expiring, as the period to which they had been extended was that beyond which it was supposed no expectation of his Majesty's recovery could be cherished. In fact, all hope of that desirable event had been

long extinct; every principle, therefore, of public and private duty left the Prince at full liberty to follow his own inclination in the choice of ministers.

It has often appeared to us, that Lords Grey and Grenville have, on certain occasions, been too fastidious in their rejection of office, but the present case is certainly not to be included in that number. To be invited to strengthen the administration of Mr. Perceval, for the promotion of objects which they had uniformly reprobated, could scarcely fail to be considered as an insult; at best, the letter must have been meant merely as a polite intimation that their system was not to be the reigning one. No other answer could have been expected than that actually made by both the noble Lords, of a decided and absolute refusal.

On what grounds the Regent could suppose that either Lord Grey or Grenville would coalesce with Mr. Perceval, it is at present difficult to decide. In his letter are the memorable words, 'I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure which can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system.' But had not Lords Grey and Grenville strongly reprobated that system? Had they not declared, that in their opinion the British troops ought to be withdrawn from the Peninsula? Had they not either passed over in sullen and contemptuous silence the victories which the British arms had obtained in the Peninsula, or questioned their utility or importance? In short, had they not uniformly expressed themselves in such a manner, whenever the Peninsular war was agitated, as unavoidably led to the belief, that if they should obtain the reins of government, it would be immediately and utterly abandoned? By taking these men into power, therefore, would not the Prince be adopting instead of avoiding a measure, which would lead his allies to suppose that he meant to depart from the present system? Even on the supposition that Lords Grey and Grenville had changed their opinions on the Peninsular war, or that, since it was embarked in, they thought it right and expedient to continue the contest; under either supposition, the introduction of them into power must have loosened the confidence and faith which the conduct of Great Britain had inspired into the Spanish and Portuguese

nations, and which naturally looked up to Mr. Perceval and his associates alone for nourishment and support. Had the determination of the Regent to retain Mr. Perceval disappointed the hopes and expectations only of the Opposition and of their friends, it is highly probable that it would have been passed over without much notice or comment; and it certainly would not have excited very strong or very general dissatisfaction, for the Opposition were not popular: but then, on the other hand, the Regent himself was not popular; it was evident that some private influence was working upon him, and rumour circulated the report that it emanated from a particular family of high rank,—the female head of which was then the reigning star of his court, and for whose society, the Jerseys, and other ladies of that grade, were gradually banished from his presence. We shall have occasion to make frequent mention of this family in a subsequent part of these Memoirs, and particularly when their country residence was chosen as the spot for his Royal Highness to retire to, during the arrangement of *proceedings* for the accouchement of his daughter.

The public had, in many respects, good cause to suspect the intentions of the Regent's ministers; for their conduct on many occasions, when consistency and firmness of principle had been looked for from them, had been vacillating, if not at direct variance with their professions and their avowed principles. Affecting to glory and to ground their claim to popularity on their abhorrence of undefined and encroaching power, they had in more than one instance lent themselves to its support, when they thus expected to secure or recall the Prince's favour; and they had acted in that manner, when common sense, and the smallest degree of foresight and experience, might have taught them that they were exposing themselves to the charge of inconsistency, with no chance or prospect of reaping any advantage from avowed acts of tergiversation. To jobbing and peculation they had for many years declared themselves decided and violent enemies; and yet, in the affair of Colonel M'Mahon, and in other instances scarcely less marked, they had been either silent, cold, and reluctant disapprovers, or actual supporters. Till the period when for a short season they tasted the fruit of power—on the death of Mr. Pitt—they had regularly

come forward as the friends of parliamentary reform: this measure they held forth as the remedy for all the weaknesses which old age, old prejudices, and mismanagement had brought on the constitution; as the certain means of securing the rights and the interests of the people, and of such perpetual and paramount necessity, that no season, no circumstances, could be unfit for carrying it into execution; but no sooner had they touched the Treasury Bench, than on this, as well as on other topics, their opinions underwent a complete and radical change. This change, indeed, they did not exhibit to the nation in all its naked deformity; they veiled it over, under the plea, that the circumstances in which the British empire and Europe at large were placed, were so utterly changed, that a measure formerly fraught with undoubted and manifest advantage might at that particular time be highly prejudicial. Some of them even went farther, and acknowledged that more mature reflection and larger views of mankind had convinced them that the benefits of parliamentary reform would neither be so certain nor so numerous as they before had fondly anticipated. By such conduct, while at the same time they held themselves out as radically consistent—as the friends of the people—as the only party who entertained enlarged and liberal political views, and on whom alone the interests and happiness of the country could safely rest—they gradually sunk into unpopularity. The little they had done while in power, when contrasted with what they had promised and viewed in conjunction with their subsequent conduct, had led the nation at large to regard them with indifference at least, if not with contempt and dislike.

On this account, their disappointment in not being intrusted by the Prince with the management of affairs was not sympathized in by the nation; but it was impossible to separate his desertion of them, from his desertion of those principles which had first made them popular, and which they still professed, though they did not regulate their political measures. The Prince also had passed over from a party, certainly not the favourites of the nation, to another party, which, though supported by many classes and ranks of the community, was extremely obnoxious to that class of men who make up for their want of numbers and

consequence by their restless and loud clamours. He had also disappointed the hopes and expectations of a very respectable and well-meaning class, not numerous indeed, and more remarkable for their good principles and good intentions than for the profoundness of their views, or the practicability of their schemes; these men had fondly looked forward to the period when the Prince should ascend the throne, as the commencement of a new era. He was to banish all peculation, corruption, and war. The Utopian visions with which their imagination had so long feasted their hopes, were to be realized, and the Fourth George was to renew the golden age in Britain.

As the period when the restrictions were taken off the regency may, without impropriety, be regarded as the commencement of a new reign, inasmuch as the Regent then becomes invested with all the rights and prerogatives of the sovereign, it may not be uninteresting nor irrelevant, in a general, brief, and rapid manner, to appreciate the talents and to unfold the political principles and conduct of the leading parties, one of which was struggling for power, the other to retain it.

We have hitherto delineated the character of the Prince of Wales as divested, in a great degree, of its political properties; although it must have been evident that he had always a certain number of political fantoccini under his control, who were obliged to direct their motions accordingly as their royal patron pulled the strings. The time, however, had now arrived, when, in the assumption of the sovereign power, unfettered by restrictions, and independent of all control, in reference to the actually living monarch, he was to exhibit himself to the British people either as a patriotic and dignified sovereign, or as one who, to gratify private prejudices or dangerous passions, was to immolate on their altar the interests and prosperity of his country.

A weak man can never become a great prince, and one of the greatest proofs of weakness in the human character is a love of flattery. On the Prince of Wales assuming the unrestricted Regency, the buzz of adulation sounded from every quarter, which the greedy ear imbibed, until perfectibility became no longer a doubtful question, and the possibility of committing wrong a wild chimera of the sceptical cynic. The Prince

had sycophants instead of advisers, and favourites in the place of friends. If but one faithful one could be found who preferred royal indignation to national treachery—who preferred his country's weal to sensual gratification—he would have warned his bewildered master of the precipice on which he stood; and, although his prejudices might be inveterate and his principles unchangeable, yet he might have compelled him to adopt other measures, by alarming his fears. But it is in policy as it is in religion: whenever either is perverted from its legitimate objects, truth, which is pure, simple, and immutable, becomes offensive, because it is not accommodating—it will neither admit darkness to be called light, nor tyranny to be called protection; it will not permit a prince to be called great, virtuous, good, and patriotic, who, immersed in sensual gratification and libidinous pursuits, sacrifices the interests of the state on the shrine of profligacy and libertinism.

At the period of the restrictions being taken off, the ministry consisted of two parties, not more distinguished from each other by the objects which they endeavoured to secure, and the means they were disposed to employ to attain these objects, than by the nature and character of their talents. These two parties did not cordially coalesce, but their want of complete union arose from other causes besides those which were involved in the different views and objects which they had, and in the difference of their dispositions and talents. At the head of one party was Mr. Perceval; and the person who supported him with most steadiness, and in the most useful and effectual manner, if not with any remarkable ability, was Lord Liverpool. At the head of the other party of the ministers was the Marquess of Wellesley; and, little inferior to him in power and influence, was Mr. Canning, who, though not forming one of the ministry, may in this estimate be fairly considered, from his intimate connexion with the Marquess of Wellesley, in that light. The difference between Mr. Perceval and the Marquess of Wellesley arose partly from personal motives, and partly from political and general considerations. The high and ambitious views of the latter would not permit him to brook with quiet and patient submission the ascendency in political rank and influence which Mr. Perceval pos-

sessed as First Lord of the Treasury; but he was too prudent and politic to bring forward his objections to Mr. Perceval's premiership on such grounds, although the grounds he did choose to bring forward equally appealed to his fancied superiority. He objected to Mr. Perceval as First Lord of the Treasury, because he did not consider him as possessing talents equal to the difficulties of the situation, especially in the momentous crisis of this country, and of Europe in general. This crisis called for and required talents of the first order; and the Marquess, or his friends who were known to speak his sentiments, represented those of Mr. Perceval as of a secondary rank. He thus implied, in no ambiguous or diffident language, that he should be put into the situation which Mr. Perceval held—that if this were done, the country would be brought out of the arduous crisis with safety and honour—but that, if Mr. Perceval continued at the head of affairs, safety might perhaps be secured, but certainly not an honourable safety, and much less the splendid rank to which the friends of Lord Wellesley conceived he was calculated, if at the head of the government, to raise Great Britain.

From the foregoing observations, it must be apparent that, where there was on one side a firm conviction of the incompetency of his colleague, and also a decided difference with respect to the management of public affairs, they could not long continue to act together. Accordingly, soon after the Regent came into the possession of unrestricted authority, Lord Wellesley tendered his resignation. At first, the Prince was unwilling to accept it, but, on Lord Wellesley's pressing it again, the Prince acceded to his request, and he delivered the seals to his Royal Highness on the 19th of February, 1812.

At this period stood at the head of the old and regular Opposition Lords Grey and Grenville; and the character which we are now about to draw of the former nobleman may not be without its uses or instruction, as, at the time when we are now writing, he is again placed at the helm of affairs, at a period when all Europe is convulsed, and the spirit of disaffection and of insubordination has manifested itself in almost all the dynasties of the civilized world—when thrones have fallen,

and others are tottering which tyranny has erected, and despotism upheld—when a mighty voice from Heaven has gone forth unto all lands—the voice, the omnipotent voice of Reason, hitherto kept hushed by the powers of Superstition, Fanaticism, and Bigotry. The dawn of a revolution of things has broken gloriously upon us, which has been the secret work of ages, for which a Luther abjured the faith of his fathers, and a Kosciusko bled on the altars of his country. The light has broken forth in the midst of darkness, the nations of the earth will assemble themselves around it, and the coruscations of its rays will flash destruction on its enemies.

When we look back to the beginning of the first French war, and contrast the political sentiments of Lords Grey and Grenville at that time—the one the admirer of the French revolution, and the advocate of parliamentary reform; the other the haughty and avowed enemy of French principles, and the strenuous opposer of every attempt to alter the representation of the people of this country—the one continually prophesying success and aggrandizement to France from every attempt to conquer or restrain her; the other, notwithstanding the repeated failures of the continental coalitions, the evident, inherent, and irradicable causes of these failures, and the glory and powers which each attempt to subjugate France crowned her with, still urging on the exhausted state of the continent,—it would not have been expected that these two noblemen could ever coalesce. It is difficult to conjecture upon what principle or compromise this union took place; it was rumoured, indeed, at the time, that Lord Grenville was no longer an advocate for continental alliances—that he had shown an aversion from forcing on the continental states against France—and that the gigantic power of that nation, which his former measures contributed in no small degree to raise, he now believed to be unassailable. His opinions respecting the war in France gave countenance to these rumours; for, certainly, nothing but a total and radical change of sentiment, respecting the power of France and the practicability of resisting, could have led him so strenuously to oppose the Peninsular war. As, therefore, Lord Grenville may be fairly supposed to have changed his opinions on that point, so far

it must be admitted that he approached Lord Grey, and that, while he was making advancement for a union of sentiment on his part, Lord Grey was also approaching towards him; for he exhibited himself no longer the advocate for parliamentary reform, and he no longer avowed those notions on civil liberty which were the theme of his applause in the early part of his life *. It would, at the same time, be unfair to this nobleman to suppose that in this respect he had gone completely over to the sentiments which Lord Grenville maintained and acted upon at the beginning of the French revolution; for it is much more reasonable, as well as candid, to suppose, that Lord Grenville, either from a change in the circumstances of the times, or from a radical change in his own opinions, had forsaken those high Tory principles which he professed at that period.

Still, however, notwithstanding this mutual approach, there must have existed considerable diversity of political sentiment between them. The popularity of the Grenville party had been preserved with great difficulty, even while Mr. Fox was alive; on his decease it declined rapidly. On many points the sentiments they avowed differed so much from those which they had formerly maintained, that they lost the support and confidence of their admirers and adherents among the public; while the change was not sufficiently radical and extensive, or had about it such an air of suspicion, that they failed to gain the confidence of those to whose sentiments they approached. They scarcely ever took up the popular side of any question with zeal or consistency; their support was either languid, or they threw in it some exception—some reservation or doubt, which rendered the party whose cause they espoused ungrateful

* We invite the attention of those of our readers who keep a watchful eye on the momentous events of the present times, to the character which is here drawn of the present prime minister of the country. A man who has always been wavering in his principles cannot possess any great claim to the confidence of the people, nor can any great good be augured from his administration. It may, indeed, be alleged against us, that a statesman is obliged to regulate his conduct according to the circumstances of the times, and that a measure which was right and proper to-day may, by a change of circumstance, assume a wholly different character to-morrow. This is the specious and plausible argument of the tergiversating politician; but the same Lord Grey who, in 1812, was an opponent of parliamentary reform, has, in 1830, taken the reins of government as the advocate of that measure, the rejection of which hurled the Wellington imbeciles from the seat of power. *Nous verrons.*

for their support. By such conduct, their popularity had sunk very low at the period when the Prince became Regent, and their behaviour on this occasion was not calculated to raise it. In the hope of preserving or regaining his favour, they countenanced and supported measures which, but for this hope, they would have opposed and condemned; and when the Prince had, beyond all doubt, deserted them and their principles, they still preserved to him such a lingering affection, displayed in such half measures, neither condemning nor supporting his ministers, that they sacrificed the small share of popularity which they still possessed, and did not re-establish themselves in the good opinion of the Prince.

A great part, however, of the difficulties with which the ministers of the Prince were surrounded must be attributed to the peculiar bias of his character. It might, and did possess, on some occasions, a laudable firmness and decision; but it was a very difficult matter to bring his mind to the desired point. Perhaps no prince ever falsified the character of a man of business more than the Prince of Wales. He was one of those negative characters, in subjects of great import, whose mind, not being able to grasp it in all its bearings, is unable to arrive at any positive decision, until sometimes prejudice or passion determines the bias; and the judgment which is then formed is the more obstinately adhered to, because error has been its parent. Accustomed to the luxurious ease of the most refined voluptuary—addicted to pursuits which required no mental exertion, the aim and scope of his life being amusement and gratification—he felt, when the time arrived that the whole weight of the executive government rested upon him, like an overburdened beast tottering beneath its load. Some sparkling flashes of an ardent and an active mind would at times break through the gloom, bright and cheering to those who were within their immediate influence; but they resembled more the sudden gleams of an expiring taper, than the steady and permanent light of a vestal fire.

It belongs to the part of a good education to instil the idea that kings are always employed for the benefit of their subjects. The march of intellect will soon exhibit the error of that conceit, and also the falsity of the notion concerning men in

exalted stations, whose heads are believed to be always teeming with some wise project for the good of the state. The son of Count Oxenstiern, who by his father had been appointed to a place of great trust and profit, expressed his earnest desire to decline the acceptance of it, on the score of his incapacity. 'Oh, my son,' said the Count, 'you little know with how small a portion of understanding the world is governed.' The Count was not singular in his opinions; for when the Earl of Stair was ambassador to the court of France, he was a great favourite with the Duke of Orleans, who was then *Regent*. One morning he was admitted into his bed-chamber—the Regent being in bed with his mistress, and his favourite, l'Abbé du Bois, being present. On entering, the Duke said to him, laughing very heartily, 'We are on state business, my Lord, and I have admitted you that you might see how the affairs of a large empire may be transacted.' We do not mean to insinuate that *our Regent* ever admitted the French ambassador to an interview under similar circumstances; but it may with truth be affirmed that he showed, by his example, that he fully coincided in the sentiments of both Oxenstiern and his brother Regent.

Man is the child of circumstance, the biped weathercock, ruled by the breath of popular opinion; and he who, under a change of circumstances, preserves his former identity of character, must be regarded, in the menagery of the human species, as a very extraordinary animal. To suppose that the Prince of Wales, after his accession to the unrestricted Regency, was the same man (we mean not in a moral sense) as he was previously to his assuming the reins of government, were equal to the position that an acute and an obtuse angle is one and the same thing. Incapable of a durable, permanent friendship, his political biases partook of the same mutable and inconstant disposition. His principles were one day imbued with the spirit of his great preceptor, Fox, and the next he appeared aloft on the pinnacle of ultra-Toryism. Being chief operator in his political elaboratory, he attempted the amalgamation of the most discordant materials, such as a Perceval and a Grenville, in the same alembic; and, like the monk, who was ignorant of the effect which a combination of sulphur,

saltpetre, and charcoal would produce, he ran the risk of being blown to pieces by the heterogeneousness of his mixtures. In the amalgamation of Grey and Grenville, there was, as we have shown, very little political affinity; and, in fact, if we review their conduct at the head of their party, we should almost be disposed to question their talents. While in power, their expeditions were ill planned, and worse executed: they had laid down a laudable rule of economy (so has one of the same Lords in the year 1830), but they adhered to it with such unstatesmanlike punctuality, that, when money might have been advantageously and judiciously employed, they still were saving and economical. Nothing displays narrower abilities than ignorance of the proper time when to break through general rules, or an obstinate attachment to them, when such attachment is evidently fraught with evil; and yet it must be acknowledged that both Lord Grey and Lord Grenville are endowed with superior talents. Lord Grenville possessed all the advantages enjoyed by the Earl of Liverpool, and these advantages were bestowed on talents of a much superior order to what the latter nobleman possessed. Nothing distinguishes Lord Grenville so much as the lucid order and arrangement of his thoughts, the immense mass of political information which he brings to bear on any question, the dignified, and sometimes haughty tone of his argument and declamation, and the precision and energy of his style. The peculiar cast of his mind is also very distinguishable in his state papers, and more particularly in his speeches: in the latter, all subjects are treated with nearly an equal degree of solemnity, both in language and manner; he never unbends, nor does he ever display that warmth which indicates a lively imagination, or strong feelings. The warmth which he does display rather results from haughtiness of disposition, than from strength of feeling. His knowledge of courts and of politics seems more extensive and accurate than his knowledge of mankind; or, perhaps the statement will be more candid and just, if we allow his knowledge of mankind to be considerable, but ascribe the little advantage he has derived from it to the reserved and unconciliating nature of his temper and habits.

The talents of Lord Grey are certainly of a higher order

than those of Lord Grenville; his eloquence is more direct and impassioned; his arguments are more frequently enforced or illustrated by an appeal to the imagination and feelings of his audience; the information he possesses is less the result of methodical and arduous application, than of quick and lively abilities, directed with zeal and earnestness, rather than with unvarying steadiness. Even his haughtiness is of a different cast from that of Lord Grenville; it is less solemn and pompous, more open, direct, and impetuous. There is no feature in Lord Grey's character more honourable to him than his contempt of popular prejudice: he has often exposed himself to obloquy by setting himself against the temporary delusion of the people; and, while a calm and explicit statement of the motives which led him to oppose it might perhaps have saved him from this obloquy, he has never stooped to give it.

The knowledge of the political character of those individuals who are at the present time called to the helm of affairs, as it stood in the antecedent parts of the last reign, may be attended with great utility, as it will enable the public, by an examination of their previous conduct, to come to a just estimate of the validity of the expectations which have been formed of them, and of their comparative ability to steer the vessel of the state through the dangers which at present surround it.

There was one point which contributed in a great degree to establish Lord Grey in the good favour of the Prince Regent, and that was, the opinion he was known to possess respecting the prosecution of the Duke of York. It was treason, within the walls of Carlton House, to whisper a doubt of the innocence of the Royal Duke, or to hesitate to declare that Colonel Wardle was not a perjured scoundrel, or that Mrs. Clarke was not the most degraded of her *kind*. It was well known that Lord Grey considered the Duke of York to be an injured, persecuted, if not an innocent man; and it is rumoured that he was heard to declare that, if he had been prime minister, he would have defended him against the most violent popular clamour. Now that the minds of men are cool—that the whole of the investigation into the charges against the Duke of York can be sifted with due attention and impartiality, it is probable that the criminality which was fixed upon him, while

the proceedings were fresh, will appear considerably less; but, after all, there was much to blame in his conduct—much that required some mark of public and parliamentary censure; and, in the state of public opinion and feeling at that period, a statesman would have displayed a most romantic and perilous attachment to what he conceived to be the cause of justice and innocence, who would have kept the Duke of York in power, in spite of the opinion of the people, so very peremptorily and generally expressed.

It is not our intention to enter again into the question of the guilt or innocence of the Duke of York; but, from a common feeling of pity, we recommend the advocates of his innocence to let him rest in his tomb, with the partial honours which his country has awarded him. We look with disdain upon the gauntlet of defiance that has been thrown at our feet; but if we be forced, in self-defence, to break through that line of forbearance within which we have hitherto confined ourselves, let the whole weight of the consequences fall on the heads of those who have so indiscreetly compelled us to enter again into an arena in which we will appear with the shield of truth as our protector, heedless of the clamour which a hireling crew may raise against us. In order to prove that we are aware that not one half of the secret machinery which was employed to destroy the accusers of the Duke of York has ever been made public, we will ask a certain Baronet for what kind of services he received 1000*l.* per annum, until the death of George IV.? and we will further ask the lady of that Baronet, who took upon herself the character and demeanour of a prostitute, in order to qualify her to mingle with professed courtesans, for what *particular branch of service* she was made a pensioner on the royal bounty? We wish at present to say no more; but let not the lion be roused, or his roarings may be heard in certain quarters, where the affrighted parties will crouch at his feet, and exclaim, 'For God's sake, hold!' The poet says—

> Who was it lost Mark Antony the world?—
> A woman!

We may parody it, and say—

Who was it lost the Duke of York his fame?—
A woman!

We have been led, almost inadvertently, into this digressive matter, from the valuable information that has been so kindly transmitted to us by certain people who have not the courage to look Truth in the face, and who suspect, not without some good cause, that, in the delineation of an immoral character, they may read a transcript of themselves; that the gibes of royalty are not to be rudely trodden upon; and that we have been travelling out of the straight-forward road, to plunge into dirty places, where we could pick up all the faults and vices which disfigured the character of the Prince of Wales; and, further, that it would have been far more becoming and loyal in us to have turned our head aside, and to play so far the hypocrite, as to appear as if we did not see them; or that if, in the fulfilment of our duty, we were obliged to see them, we should so have concealed them under an impervious and opaque covering, that the most prying eye of curiosity could not determine whether an angel or a devil were beneath it. We have also been told by certain *quidnuncs* (right reverend and most honourable men), that the world has nothing to do—and that we, as his biographer, *cæteris paribus*, have nothing to do with the private conduct and private character of George Prince of Wales, or of George IV. King of England; and that, on this head, we ought to have followed the example of the Greeks and Romans, who merely inscribed the public character upon the public record, and left the private character to its own privacy. We can only answer these right reverend counsellors, that the age of the Greeks and Romans is gone by—in some instances of civil polity, very much to our regret; but that we have the good fortune to live in an era when the public, as well as the private actions of monarchs and of princes have become the property of the people over whom they govern; that in Britain—and consequently we, as Britons, possess an inalienable right to watch over, and to approve or condemn the actions of our rulers, in so far as they operate for or against the interests of the country, and appear consonant or at variance with the established dictates of morality and virtue.

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat, habetur.

We may further say with the poet—

We, too, are friends to loyalty; we love
The king who loves the laws, respects his bounds,
And lives content within them. Him we serve
Freely and with delight, who leaves us free;
But, recollecting still that he is man,
We trust him not too far. King though he be—
And king in England, too—he may be weak
And vain enough to be ambitious still;
May exercise amiss his proper powers,
Or covet more than freemen choose to grant.
Beyond that mark is treason. He is ours
T' administer, to guard, t' adorn the state,
But not to warp nor change it. We are his,
To serve him nobly in the common cause—
True to the death—but not to be his slaves.

Among the celebrated individuals who connected themselves generally with the Opposition, but who retained a greater share of the good opinion and confidence of the nation than the body of that party, Lord Holland ranks as one of the most conspicuous. His relationship to Mr. Fox—his resemblance to that eminent statesman in the warm and ingenuous nature of his disposition and feelings—and the liberal and enlightened ideas which he has always expressed on the subject of civil and religious liberty—endeared him to all who venerated the memory of Mr. Fox, and who looked in vain to Lords Grey and Grenville for such a complete, uniform, and radical adherence to his principles as they discovered in Lord Holland. With those, also, of the ministerial party who were zealous and sanguine in their support of the Peninsular war, Lord Holland was a distinguished favourite. His attachment to the cause of Spain, and his confidence in her success, at the time when the Opposition either held it forth as hopeless, or branded it as a cause of no magnitude and importance, proved that he was not so much a party man as to sacrifice his own opinions to party purposes and party consistency. The manner, also,

in which he advocated the cause of Spain came home to the feelings of all who were alive to a hatred of tyranny, and a love of liberty and independence. When he spoke on the subject, all the natural and genuine ardour of his mind broke forth: with unstudied but impressive eloquence, he painted the situation of the Spaniards, and portrayed their character. Lord Holland was therefore regarded with more confidence, hope, and attachment, than the rest of the old and regular Opposition, by that part of the nation who professed the principles of Mr. Fox; while, by those whose opinions coincided with the ministry, he was viewed with less distrust than the rest of his party.

Although the first year of the Prince's regency had been distinguished by our military successes in the Peninsular war, yet at home great distress and dissatisfaction prevailed. It seldom happens that the labouring classes of the metropolis suffer nearly so much as those in the country, from the pressure of the times: the trades in which they are engaged depend less on foreign commerce; the wages which they receive are more regular and steady. Hence, while discontent and misery frequently grind down the comforts and the spirits of the manufacturing classes in the country, people of a similar rank in society, and engaged in similar business in the metropolis, pass through times of public calamity comparatively untouched.

But the subject which occupied the attention of parliament, during the session of 1812, most closely, and for the greatest length of time, and which certainly in its nature was of the utmost importance, regarded the repeal of the orders of council. Petitions in favour of the repeal poured in from all quarters, in which the petitioners prayed to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons, pledging themselves to prove that the principal causes of the decay of trade were to be found in the orders of council. For a long time Mr. Perceval objected to hearing evidence; but he at length gave a reluctant consent to the appointment of a committee, and to the hearing of evidence. The committee began their labours on the 29th of April; on the 11th of May it was interrupted, and the whole

nation thrown into the utmost consternation and horror, by the atrocious assassination of the prime minister.

This dismal catastrophe seems not to have been at all connected with the aspect of the times, with any general cause, or with the principles of any party. It arose merely from disappointment and suffering acting upon a mind vindictive almost to madness; and it is a species of resentment to which the ministers of this country are peculiarly liable. There is a natural disposition in all men to exaggerate their own talents and services. Adventurers, of ruined fortunes, readily form projects of retrieving them by advancing chimerical claims, the admission of which would raise them to opulence. The claim of Bellingham, the assassin of Mr. Perceval, does not seem to have rested on the slightest rational foundation; he imagined himself, falsely it would appear, to have been wronged by the Russian government. An application made to the British ambassador for the purpose of obtaining redress was disregarded: for the refusal of the ambassador to forward his unreasonable demands, he made the government at home responsible; he conceived himself entitled to receive from them the same sum which he would have received from the Russian government, had his complaints been favourably listened to. The claim, therefore, was such as ministers were bound to reject. The ferocity of this unhappy wretch was certainly tinctured with madness. In his general character there was a very remarkable degree of unsound judgment combined with vigorous powers and acute penetration. This was manifested not only in false conceptions regarding his original claim, to which he was stimulated indeed by want and desperation, but much more by the expectation of acquittal, which, contrary to every rational principle, he to the last entertained. It is not possible, however, to entertain the idea that there was such a degree of aberration as could render it either just or safe to the public that he should escape the punishment due to his crime.

Mr. Perceval fell thus a victim to the performance of a decided ministerial duty. His estimable character in private life, his suavity of manners joined to a fate so tragical, threw an ex-

traordinary interest over his memory. The provision made for his family, which was no more than necessary to support their rank, met with universal approbation, even at a time of extraordinary financial pressure. His bitterest political enemies were the most zealous to express their horror and regret, and their anxiety to make every possible compensation to his domestic circle for a loss so irreparable.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into a full detail of the principal events of the public and private life of Mr. Perceval; but it would be unpardonable in us, and an injustice done to his memory, not to dwell upon the simplicity in which he lived in the midst of his numerous family, as if no other cares were on his shoulders than their welfare and happiness. No man in a private station ever passed a greater portion of his time with his family, than did this first minister of the first kingdom of the world. If any of his brother ministers made him an ordinary visit, they found him at a simple family meal, or perhaps writing in the midst of his children playing round him.

No one, indeed, despatched the most important public business with more ease, more simplicity, and less ostentation. One of his young boys accompanied him to the House of Commons on the fatal day which proved his last, and his final meeting of his children was at a simple family dinner taken in the midst of them about half-past two o'clock in the afternoon on that ever-to-be-lamented day*.

Mr. Perceval was not much given either to public amusements or fashionable visiting; and when he did frequent them, he was usually accompanied by the greater part of his children. No man, indeed, passed so much of his time in this endearing society. If, on any unexpected emergency in public business, there was a sudden call for him, no one had any difficulty in finding him—every one knew where to seek him: it was

* The circumstances of the following anecdote are not generally known. Mr. Perceval and the present Baron Vaughan were for a considerable time the leading counsel of the Midland Circuit. The former was very diminutive in stature—the latter tall and erect. The culprits, by way of distinguishing these two barristers, never mentioned them by name, but by the epithet of 'the little man' and 'the tall man.' At the Assizes in Nottingham, a culprit had obtained his acquittal by the legal subtlety of Mr. Perceval, and on rejoining his companions in the prison, being asked his doom, he replied that *the little man* had got him off; 'Then,' exclaimed another, 'I shall be sure to get off, for I have got *the little one* and *the tall one too*.'

not in the midnight rout, nor the gaming-house, nor in the revels of the tavern; but in the society of his own hearth and family.

As a public office invests the individual with some part of the reverence and sacredness which belong to the State in its collective character, it is natural that the death of an officer of eminence, putting aside every other consideration, when that death is dealt by the blow of an assassin, and overtakes him in the discharge of his public functions, should excite universal regret in the hearts of a grateful people. It gives occasion, moreover, to a feeling of sacrilegious horror, when the individual, so eminent in his office, so loved and honoured for his virtues, falls within the very verge of the sanctuary, and is slain, as it were, upon the very altar of the constitution.*

Before we quit this subject, we cannot refrain from making one remark. By the correspondence which was published on this and other occasions, we discover the practice followed in the government offices. When any application is deemed inadmissible, no notice is taken of it, and no answer returned.

* It is a crude conceit engendered in some minds, that intellectual talent runs in families, and that the principle of *fortes creantur fortibus* is exemplified in so many instances as to bring it almost within the certainty of a mathematical demonstration. It might, indeed, turn out, on investigation, that the progenitors of Vestris were all dancers as far back as Deucalion, and that all the progenitors of Shakspeare were dramatists as far back as Noah; but, in order to subvert the hypothesis of these sticklers for hereditary talent, we have only to mention the instance, that a descendant of the learned and enlightened Spencer Perceval did, in the month of December, 1830, in his place in the House of Commons, give an indubitable proof that he possesses the talents of his great progenitor, by giving notice that, after the recess, he would move an address to his Majesty to appoint a day for a *general* fast. A GENERAL FAST!! What an announcement!—at a time when three-fourths of the people of this country complain that the fast is much too general already, and that this Lent has been protracted to a period beyond all further endurance. It is a mockery upon the distresses of the people to talk of a general fast relieving them from the pressure which now weighs so heavily upon them. Let the legislature reduce the taxation—let the leeches who have hitherto fattened upon the life-blood of the nation be restored to the feculence in which they were bred—let the titled paupers who have rendered no service to the country, nor have any service to perform, be mulcted of their princely pensions—let the clergy be respectably and handsomely provided for, but not put into the enjoyment of an income exceeding the whole revenue of the kingdom of Sweden—let the whole herd of tax consumers, with the tax solicitor at their head, be brought to the bar of your Honourable House, Mr. Perceval; the former to establish their claim to the support of the country, and the latter to be punished for adding to the distresses of the people by the infamous issue of his exchequer writs. Do one or all of these things, Mr. Perceval—and you will have done more for the benefit of your country than by the ordination of a hundred fasts.

Unless the demand be very extravagant indeed, this proceeding appears to us contemptuous and trifling, and it is what the people of this country have no right to receive at the hands of their rulers, who, in fact, are their servants, and to whom access ought always to be open for the redress of any real injury; or, if not real, for the impartial investigation of the grounds on which the claim is meant to be enforced. According to the present mode of treatment, the complainant is naturally induced to cherish the suspicion—often, perhaps, too just—that his claims are unanswered, merely because no one has ever considered them*. It seems desirable that some court or some department should be charged with the examination of such claims; and that, in every case, a distinct statement should be given of the reasons which induce government either to approve or reject them. There would then be a greater chance, if these claims were well founded, that they would be duly attended to; if otherwise, that the person might be less violently dissatisfied with his repulse. The two cases of Henry and Bellingham, in the course of a single year, show the dreadful consequences which may follow from resentment thus kindled. The one, unrewarded for real, though not very honourable services, went over to the enemy, and disclosed secrets of the last importance; the other, stung by the silent contempt with which his chimerical claims were treated, had recourse to a still more desperate and sanguinary mode of treatment.

The political bed on which the Prince Regent now reposed was certainly not one of roses. During the lifetime of Mr. Perceval, ministers had with some difficulty maintained their

* We have been lately intrusted with the documents respecting a claim which a worthy individual possesses upon the government of this country, and who is the legitimate descendant of a highly meritorious officer, who served the whole of the American war, and who, by his talents and courage, rendered the most essential services to his country. This individual has an undoubted claim for 7000*l.*, the produce of lands of which this government took possession in America. Petition upon petition has been sent in. Mr. Goulburn himself did not dispute the validity of the claim, and acknowledged that the money was justly due. Hope, however, deferred made, at last, the heart sick; and the aged claimant is now an inmate of St. Martin's workhouse. And can these things be, and not excite our special indignation? It is our intention to lay the case before parliament; and, in the mean time, we recommend the Richmond family to look to it:—there is more in it concerning themselves than they are perhaps at present aware of.

ground; but now that they were deprived of Mr. Perceval's reputation, his dexterity in business, and his talent for debate, a sense of weakness was immediately felt. They naturally looked for support to those men of distinguished abilities who had once formed part of their administration, and who, although removed by untoward circumstances, still maintained a general conformity of political sentiment. Overtures were accordingly made by Lord Liverpool to Marquess Wellesley and Mr. Canning, inviting their accession to the cabinet. The application was too evidently the result of necessity to find much favour in the eyes of those statesmen. The terms, too, in which it was made, did not exhibit any sense of their relative talents and reputation. It was announced that Lord Liverpool was to be premier, and Lord Castlereagh to take the lead in the House of Commons; consequently, the members now invited were merely to act under them, and to be instruments in their hands. No concessions were offered on the subject of the Roman Catholics, who were now pouring in their petitions for that emancipation, which one of the most imbecile ministers that ever guided the destinies of a nation was afterwards so frightened as to concede to them; nor was any mention made of any other subject respecting which they were known to differ in opinion. It is certain that ministers committed an egregious error in making such a proposal. They thereby confessed their weakness, without affording any rational chance of deriving support. Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning returned the answer which was clearly to be anticipated, and which amounted to a respectful but decided refusal to enter the cabinet upon such terms.

The consequences of this imprudence followed with a rapidity which could scarcely have been apprehended. On the evening of the very day on which the correspondence was published, which passed between Lord Liverpool, and Marquess Wellesley and Mr. Canning, Mr. S. Wortley moved in the House of Commons that a petition should be presented to his Royal Highness, praying that he would be pleased to form an efficient administration. The motion was carried, though by a majority only of 174 against 170; and the answer returned by the Prince Regent was, that he would take the address

into his serious and immediate consideration. Struck by a blow so unexpected, ministers, it is said, at first conceived some desperate plans for averting its effects; but if any such were in reality agitated, they were immediately abandoned, and the proper resolution was formed of implicitly acquiescing in the decision of the House. The Prince, placed in a situation so singular and critical, showed his fixed attachment to the party he had espoused; he sent not for any leading member of Opposition, nor for any associate of his former political life, but for the Marquess Wellesley, whose sentiments were known to coincide most nearly with those of the ministers whom he was forced to relinquish. The Marquess undertook the task with alacrity; for, previously to his late resignation, he had formed the plan of a ministry. His bold and comprehensive mind rose superior to all views of party, his leading principles being, guarded concession to the Catholics, and a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the Peninsula. On the former point he stood between the two parties, but approached the Opposition; on the latter he differed in some measure from ministers, but very widely from their adversaries. His plan, then, not coinciding with that of either, could be carried into execution only by the chief sway being vested in himself; and other motives, doubtless, contributed to make such an issue appear desirable. But the great misfortune appeared to rest in the circumstance that the adherents on whom he could depend possessed neither numbers nor influence sufficient to form the whole, nor even the principal part of a ministry. To remedy this deficiency, he seems to have conceived the idea of combining the two parties in nearly equal proportions, so that he, with his small band, might be able to make the scale incline towards either side. He thus hoped to secure to his own little party the supremacy over the two others, though each of them was more numerous than his own. This scheme appears to us to be too chimerical to have emanated from so great a mind. Coalitions are always weak, unpopular, and short-lived; the discordant elements never unite, and the ill-cemented fabric falls speedily to the ground. This is fortunate for the interests of the people; for, if it were possible that all statesmen of ability could unite

in one administration, they would be absolute, and might subvert the liberties of the nation. If, however, two parties who unite spontaneously for mutual advantage are incapable of continuing to act together, what character can we give to a union effected by an extraneous influence, for the purpose of making them neutralize and counteract each other, and thus secure the predominance of a third, differing from both? It cannot be supposed for a moment that any statesman, at all respectable for character, would hold office upon such terms; at all events, it would have evinced, on the part of the Marquess, more prudence and knowledge of mankind, if, instead of his soaring and chimerical scheme, he had used his reputation and abilities in extending his influence over the party to which circumstances had attached him, and to which, in fact, his principles much more closely allied him. One of the great aims of Lord Wellesley was the prosecution of the Peninsular war; how, then, could he imagine that the accession of Lords Grenville and Grey, who declaimed, without ceasing, against the war in the Peninsula, would conduce to the prosecution of that contest with augmented vigour? He would soon have found that this, his favourite project, would proceed much more languidly under the new coalition, which was partly hostile to it, than under one which adopted it steadily, though not with all the ardour which he desired.

Ministers having thus refused to accede to the coalition, Lord Wellesley had no means left of forming a ministry, but by an entire coalition with the opposite party. It was impossible to shut his eyes to the consequence. His own small band would soon have been lost in the numbers and influence of those with whom it was to be united; and he would have been reduced to a situation more humiliating than ever. He could have held office only by acting a secondary part, and by bending himself to those measures most hateful to him, the desertion of our allies and the suspension of all vigorous military operations. His mind was too honourable and manly ever to contemplate such an issue. He hesitated not to make the mortifying declaration that his undertaking had entirely failed, and to resign into the hands of his Royal Highness the trust which had been committed to him.

The nation was now seized with extreme disgust and impatience at the continued state of anarchy in which it was plunged. Invectives were uttered against public men, who, from personal motives and enmities, withdrew themselves from the service of their country at such a crisis. Hints were even thrown out that the Prince himself, and his secret advisers, were throwing every possible obstacle in the way of the desired result. No evidence of this has, however, ever been adduced, nor does there appear to have been any limitation of the powers with which successive negotiations were intrusted. A clamour, however, arose for a ministry of whatever nature; and the Prince and the coalition having failed, it seemed now evident that the Opposition must come in. The Prince, nevertheless, still declined a direct application to the leaders of that body. The commission to form a new ministry was entrusted to Lord Moira, a personal friend of his own, and who, of all the statesmen usually ranked with the Opposition, was attached to it by the loosest ties. This nobleman was well known to the public, was distinguished by his popular talents, and had shone both in the senate and in the field. He was reproached only with too eager pursuit of popularity among all classes of men, which in this divided country must always be futile, and can scarcely escape the reproach of too great versatility. He had thus, particularly among his own party, incurred the charge of unsteadiness of principle and immoderate vanity. The choice of him, therefore, did not probably mitigate the disgust naturally felt by Lords Grenville and Grey, at seeing how studiously the Prince avoided any direct application to themselves. However, they proceeded to the negotiation with all due decorum; and it seemed to be proceeding rather rapidly to a prosperous issue, when a single difference of opinion upon a subordinate point arrested its progress.

It appears, from the minute of a conversation between Lord Moira and Lords Grey and Grenville, that they thought it necessary immediately (in order to prevent the inconvenience and embarrassment of the further delay which might be produced, if this negotiation should break off in a more advanced state) to ask whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great offices of the house-

hold which have been usually included in the political arrangements made on a change of administration; intimating their opinion that it would be necessary to act on the same principle on the present occasion. Lord Moira contended that no restriction had been laid on him; that the Prince had never pointed, in the most distant manner, at the protection of these officers from removal; but that it would be impossible for him to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable. Mr. Canning afterwards stated in the House of Commons, that Lord Moira, fearing that he was not entirely understood by the Prince, when he renewed his unrestricted commands to form an administration, on returning to the royal presence, he put this question directly: 'Is your Royal Highness prepared, if I should so advise it, to part with all the officers of your household?' The answer was, 'I am.' 'Then,' said Lord Moira, 'your Royal Highness shall not part with one of them.' Lord Grenville was of opinion that the officers of the household should be removed; Lord Moira insisted they should not. This difference proved irreconcileable, and the negotiation was broken up.

Lord Moira was much and grievously censured upon this occasion. He had been assured by Lords Grey and Grenville, that they were actuated solely by public motives; they considered that every administration should possess the character of efficiency and stability, and those marks of the confidence and constitutional support of the crown without which it could not act usefully for the public service. Hence they were convinced that, in the first arrangement of an administration, the connexion of the great offices of the court should be clearly established; without which there would be a kind of interior cabinet, working against the public one.

There is no doubt that the practice has been adhered to of changing the persons of the household with a change of ministry; yet it does not appear to us how the constitution can be interested in depriving the sovereign of the nomination of men who take no ostensible share in the public counsels, who are not responsible for any public measure, but who merely swell the pomp of his retinue, and who are the companions of his private life. A ministry seems to go too far in prescribing to the sovereign the companions of

his social hours, even though there should be good reasons for wishing them changed. In the case of a sovereign, it is very difficult to distinguish between the *personal* and the *political* friend: the former may be deserving of the full extent of confidence which is reposed in him, but, at the same time, it might be attended with great danger to the interests of the state to make him the depositary of any great political secret; and it was on these grounds that the objection was raised to the appointment of Colonel M'Mahon to the office of private secretary to the Prince, as the two relations of personal and political friend became thereby blended into one, which is itself at direct variance with the principles of the constitution, as far as it regards the personal connexions of the sovereign. Still, however, we do not perceive the constitutional necessity of the removal of the officers of the household on a change of ministry; and we are still further doubtful as to the policy of it, with a view to the preservation of the party in power. The Prince certainly was greatly attached to the persons of his household—perhaps too much so, considering the very questionable character which many of them bore; but that is a subject we will not here stop to discuss: nevertheless, it did appear that their influence over him was likely to be employed in a manner unfavourable to the new administration; but on what ground could it be expected that their removal from office would remove them also from the good graces of his Royal Highness? It could only tend to increase their zeal to overthrow the men who had expelled them, and thereby render their seat in power more than ever insecure.

The whole conduct of Lord Moira's negotiation forms one of the most extraordinary features of the political reign of the Prince Regent; and it must exhibit to the nation, at this time, the melancholy picture of the confusion and embarrassment into which the foreign and domestic relations of this country must have been thrown by these bickerings of the rival statesmen, and the consequent advantages which a wily and highly-talented enemy must have derived from these continual and protracted dissensions in the British cabinet. There are some points, but they are few, in which Lord Moira is deserving of our esteem: as a politician, he scarcely deserves to be placed

in the second rank; he knew well that Lords Grey and Grenville would not come into power, unless they were permitted to change the great officers of the household; he then inquires of his Royal Highness whether he entertains any objection to this change; and his Royal Highness replies that, if it were for the good of the nation, and necessary for the formation of a powerful administration, he would most willingly consent to their removal. The answer of Lord Moira has been already given; but there is something so ridiculous and childish in it, that it requires all our esteem for Lord Moira's heart and feelings to prevent us from fixing a most severe imputation on the soundness of his understanding, and even on the purity of his patriotism. Lords Grey and Grenville, perhaps, acted in a harsh and injudicious manner, when they stipulated for the removal of the household before they came into power, since they could so easily have effected it after they became ministers; but Lord Moira exhibited a most strange and melancholy obliquity of understanding, when he prevented the Prince from consenting to that which would have secured the services of those men, which services, from Lord Moira's applying to them, he must have considered highly useful, if not essential to the interests of the nation, and which would also have raised the Prince personally in the opinion of the country. No one can doubt the warmth and zeal of his attachment to the Prince; and, in the present instance, he exhibited it at the expense of his own character for patriotism and understanding.

On the 8th of June, two days after the conversation which was held between the Prince and Lord Moira, the Earl of Liverpool stated, in the House of Lords, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent had been pleased that day to appoint him First Lord of the Treasury, and, accordingly, the Liverpool administration was immediately formed.

On this occasion, Sheridan, the companion, the abettor of the Prince, in all his dissolute habits, and with whom he had passed through unparalleled scenes of libertinism and debauchery, fell, as a politician, to rise no more. In the enjoyment of the intimacy of the Prince, it appears that he knew that Earl Grey was personally disliked by the Regent; and, to

gratify the Prince, he prevented the negotiations with Lord Moira from coming to a successful issue. We well remember the effect produced in the House of Commons, when the present Marquess of Hertford, then Lord Yarmouth, stated, in a clear and distinct manner, that himself and the other officers of the household, to save the Prince Regent from the humiliation he must have experienced from their being turned out of office, had stated to his Royal Highness their wish to resign, and only requested to know ten minutes before certain gentlemen received the seals, that they might make a timely resignation:—that this intention of theirs was well known—that they took every means of stating it in quarters through which it might reach the ears of the persons interested—and that, in particular, they had communicated it to a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan), who had taken an active part in the negotiation. 'But,' says Mr. Moore, 'not only did Sheridan endeavour to dissuade the noble Vice Chamberlain (Lord Yarmouth) from resigning, but, with an unfairness of dealing which admits, I own, of no vindication, he withheld from the two leaders of Opposition the intelligence thus meant to be conveyed to them; and, when questioned by Mr. Tierney, as to the rumoured intentions of the household to resign, he offered to bet five hundred guineas that there was no such step in contemplation.'

Mr. Moore further observes, 'In this conduct, which he made but a feeble attempt to explain, and which I consider as the only indefensible part of his whole public life, he was, in some degree, no doubt, influenced by personal feelings against the two noble Lords whom his want of fairness on this occasion was so well calculated to thwart and embarrass. But the main motive of the whole proceeding is to be found in his devoted deference to what he knew to be the wishes and feelings of that personage who had become now, more than ever, the mainspring of all his movements—whose spell over him, in this instance, was too strong for even his sense of character—and to whom he might well have applied the words of one of his own beautiful songs:—

Friends, fortune, *fame itself*, I'd lose,
To gain one smile from thee.

So fatal, too often, are royal friendships, whose attraction, like the loadstone in eastern fable, that drew the nails out of the luckless ships that came near it, steals gradually away the strength by which character is held together, till at last it loosens at all points, and falls to pieces—a wreck!

As a proof of the fettering influence under which Sheridan acted on this occasion, we find him, in one of his evasive attempts at vindication, suppressing, from delicacy to his royal master, a circumstance which, if mentioned, would have redounded considerably to his own credit. After mentioning that the Regent had asked his opinion with respect to the negotiations that were going on, he adds, 'I gave him my opinion, and I most devoutly wish that that opinion could be published to the world, that it might serve to shame those who now belie me.'

The following is the fact to which these expressions allude. When the Prince Regent, on the death of Mr. Perceval, intrusted to Lord Wellesley the task of forming an administration, it appears that his Royal Highness had signified either his intention or wish to exclude a certain noble Earl (Earl Grey) from the arrangements to be made under that commission. On learning this, Sheridan not only expressed strongly his opinion against such a step, but afterwards, having reason to fear that the freedom with which he spoke on the subject had been displeasing to the Regent, he addressed a letter to that illustrious person, in which, after praising the *wisdom* and magnanimity displayed by his Royal Highness in confiding to Lord Wellesley the powers that had just been intrusted to him, he repeated his opinion that any proscription of the noble Earl in question would be a proceeding equally derogatory to the estimation of his Royal Highness' personal dignity, and the security of his political power; adding, that the advice which he took the liberty of giving against such a step did not proceed from any peculiar partiality to the noble Earl, or to many of those with whom he was allied, but was founded on what he considered to be best for his Royal Highness' honour and interest, and for the general welfare of the country.

This letter, in alluding to the displeasure which he feared he had incurred by venturing his opinion, concludes thus:—

'Junius said, in a public letter of his, addressed to your royal father, "The fate that made you a king forbade you having a friend." I deny his proposition as a general maxim. I am confident that your Royal Highness possesses qualities to win and secure to you the attachment and devotion of private friendship, in spite of your being a sovereign. At least, I feel that I am entitled to make the declaration as far as relates to myself, and I do it under the assured conviction that you will never require from me any proof of that attachment and devotion inconsistent with the dear and honourable independence of mind and conduct which constitutes my sole value as a public man, and which has hitherto been my best recommendation to your gracious favour, confidence, and protection.'

We have a two-fold motive in inserting this extract from Sheridan's letter; the first, to expose, in a perspicuous light, the political intrigues which distinguished the commencement of the regency; and, secondly, to show that, notwithstanding the long intimacy which had subsisted between the Prince of Wales and Sheridan, yet that, in reality, the latter was positively ignorant of the real character of his Royal Highness, or that he must have seen it to be his interest to belie his opinion, and to give his Royal Highness credit for the possession of virtues of which so many proofs can be adduced that he knew them only by name. To the Prince, Sheridan had been a faithful, servile friend. In all cases where the character of his Royal Highness was concerned—and God knows they were not a few—Sheridan appeared as his champion, as his stoutest, ablest defender. Shrouded in his deep and heartless selfishness, the Prince beheld this stanch and steady friend sinking beneath an accumulated load of distress and embarrassment. One hundredth part of the sum which he was then squandering away on French gewgaws and golden baubles—one thousandth part of what he was then expending in the decoration of his palaces which he never inhabited—or which he threw into the lap of his meretricious Marchioness—would have rescued the individual who had been to him, 'in all storms and seasons,' his adviser, his counsellor, his devoted adherent, from the merciless grasp of his vindictive creditors, and given to the last moments of the dying man the cheering consolation, that the

Prince whom he had served so faithfully in life had not forgotten him in his afflictions.

We shall have occasion to recur to this subject at the period when the death of this celebrated individual took place, when we shall be able to exhibit an instance, degrading as it was unexpected, of royal ingratitude and royal heartlessness.

The political relations of the country, as they stood at the time of the regency, when the Prince of Wales took upon himself the sovereignty of the kingdom, are invested with so much interest to the historian and the politician, that the ample details which we have given of them will, doubtless, in their eyes, constitute one of the most valuable features of our work. The subject, however, has unavoidably diverted our attention from other important matters which were now gradually unfolding themselves to the British public, and which ultimately gave the death-blow to the popularity of the Regent, and expelled him, as it were, from all intercourse with the people over whom Fate, and not the choice of that people, had called him to govern.

The foreign policy of the Regent was eminently continental, and his domestic administration was made to conform to it, so far as the laws of England would permit. The measures he could not openly authorize he sanctioned with his influence, and all his exertions tended to strengthen that despotism abroad which he artfully endeavoured to establish at home. His approbation of the Holy Alliance—tacit, though not avowed—would, in the better times of our history, have cost him the throne, which the principles of that alliance tended to subvert. Everything, when George IV. died, was gradually settling into a modified system of continental jurisdiction, under the military domination of a faction of which the King himself was the head.

The reign of George IV. has been called a splendid reign—and justly so, if the Pimlico Palace*, the restorations at Wind-

* We cannot refrain from inserting the following ludicrous description of this palace. Extract from a letter addressed by a French architect in London to his friend in Paris:—'My dear Sair,—I shall now give you some account of de royal palace here, called de Buck-and-ham Palace, which is building for de English King, in de spirit of John Bull plum-pudding and roast beef taste, for which de English are so famous. It is great curiosity. In de first place, de pillars of de

sor, the nicknacks of the pavilion, the fleet on Virginia Water, the elegant jumble of the royal cottage, and the *soi-disant* great public improvements, had either been promoted or encouraged by the King for the happiness of the people. But, although the latter were weighed down by taxes which paralyzed their energies, and were oppressed with wants, which accumulated indifference and despair, yet buildings were projected and continued, not required for his convenience, nor necessary for the support of his dignity, and accompanied with an expense which was an insult to the distresses of the country, and ultimately exhausted the patience of the people.

We now consider ourselves called upon to exhibit the counterpart of the proceedings which took place between the Prince of Wales and his royal brothers, York and Clarence, respecting the raising of a large sum of money on their respective bonds, and the particulars of which have been confidentially entrusted to us, to enable us to complete the picture of some of the most tragical scenes which were ever enacted in a civilized country.

We must refer our readers to pages 308—316 for the history of the first part of this transaction, but the sequel is of a far more tragical nature; and we wish, for the honour and character of the country,—we wish, for the fame and reputation of *all* the parties concerned,—that a full and impartial inquiry had been made into every circumstance of the case, in

palace are made to reprasent English vegitable, as de sparrowgrass, de leek, and onion; then de entablatures or friezes are vary mouch enriched with leg of mutton, and de pork, with vat dey call de garnish, all vary beautiful carved: then, on de impediment of the front, stand colossal figure of de man-cook with de large English toasting-fork in his hand, ready to put into de pot a vary large plum-pudding behind him, which is vary fine pudding, not de colour of black Christmas pudding, because de architect say it would not look vell in summair time: it is vary plain pudding. Then de small windows of de kitchen, on each side de impediment at top story of de palace, have before dem trophy of de kitchen, such as pot, and de pan, and othare thing, which look well at de distance, except that de poker and de tong are too big. On de wing of de palace, called de gizzard wing (de othare wing vas cut off), stand de domestique servant, in neat dress, holding in de trays biscuit and tart, and othare ding. The name of de architect is Mistaire Hash, de King's architect, who, I vas informed, vas roasted vary much (the term I did not comprehend). De English people seem vary much to like dis palace for de King, and do laugh vary much. There is to be in de front of de palace vary large kitchen range, made of white marble, vich I was told would contain von hundred of goose at von time. De palace, ven complete, will be called after von famous English dish, de Toad-in-de-Hole.'

order that such a foul blot should not have been allowed to remain on the character of the Princes of the Blood of these realms. We know that princes are but men, and, like other men, are liable to be entranced 'by the magic gaze of vice,' to form imprudent associations, to be the dupe of designing men, and hastily to adopt the views of polished parasites. We profess ourselves to be liberal in political principle; we will be also so in act and deed. We declare our determination to make no accusation, but, anxious for the development of truth, although we cannot hope at this remote period of producing that fair discussion before which all falsehood, maudlin, and disguise must fall, we shall proceed to publish that, which we doubt not would have been highly conducive to the interests and the character of the royal brothers never to have suppressed. The suppression of any document goes far to the presumption of the guilt of the parties concerned in the implication; for a consciousness of innocence rather courts than shuns inquiry, and will rather meet its accusers boldly, face to face, than attempt to throw the veil of mystification over its actions. We may have been considered as the severe monitor of his late Majesty, as the first magistrate of this empire, for we have been not only directly opposed to the policy of his reign, but also indignantly roused when we have contemplated his character as a man. Where there is no doubt as to the commission of an act, it becomes the indisputable right of the historian to portray that action, whether virtuous or atrocious, and to comment upon its effects, as far as they regard the interests of the state, or the well-being and happiness of society in general. We reiterate our declaration that, in the disclosure of the following facts, we make no personal accusation; we could, indeed, point to several individuals whom we suspect to be deeply implicated in the concoction and accomplishment of the diabolical scheme; and, although their iniquity was concealed at the time, by the suppression of every paper and pamphlet which publicly treated of the subject, yet the whole forms so extraordinary a feature in the life of the Prince of Wales, and possesses withal such a high degree of interest, that it would be reproachful and unpardonable in us to omit it.

The afflicting malady of George III. was hailed by the party of the Prince of Wales as the commencement of that fortunate era which was to bring him an accession of power, and with that power, an accession also of riches, sufficient to enable him to continue his career of extravagance and profligacy. The Duke of York also required an immediate supply of money, to enable him to support the demands of the Tennis-Court, where he passed a great part of his time in indiscriminate society, even with the very lowest who infest a public tennis-court, and where he lost immense sums of money. The domestic calamity of the father was deemed very propitious for raising money on a contingency supposed not to be very distant; and the opportunity it afforded of pecuniary accommodation was eagerly embraced as the means of relieving the Prince from the pressure of his embarrassments. A council of finance was assembled on the occasion, composed of the Prince's most intimate friends, and the dangerous resource of a post-obit bond was determined on. Here the Prince should have halted: he had hitherto been improvident—flagrantly imprudent; and the step that follows imprudence presented itself. Did his Royal Highness pause, or did he follow the path unchecked? The post-obit bonds were to have been tried in England, under the direction of Mr. Louis Weltjie, Clerk of the Prince's Kitchen; in Ireland by Mr. Annesley Shee, formerly a Lottery-Office Keeper; and in Scotland by Mr. Dunbar, a Money-Broker in the City. These bonds were to be secured by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence. Mr. Weltjie, fearing the consequences, withdrew himself from the concern by introducing to the Prince of Wales Mr. Henry Jones, of Frith-street, Soho, and Mr. John Cator, of the Adelphi, both men of property, and of extensive money connections. When first employed by the Prince, Mr. Cator engaged to pay down ten thousand pounds of a bond of treble the amount, payable when *a certain event* should take place. The bargain was perfected on the 16th of December, 1788, witnessed by Andrew Robinson and Charles Bicknell, and on the same day the money was paid.

The form of these bonds may be matter of curiosity to many of our readers, and is as follows:—

'KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that We, George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, all living in the City of Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, are jointly and severally, justly and truly indebted to John Cator, of Beckenham, in the County of Kent, Esquire, and his executors, administrators, and assigns, in the penal sum of Sixty Thousand Pounds of good and lawful money of Great Britain, well and truly paid to us at or before the sealing of these presents. Sealed with our seals this 16th day of December, in the 29th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George III., by the Grace of God, King, Defender of the Faith, Anno Domini 1788.

'The condition of the above-written obligation is such, that if the above bounden George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, or any or either of them, or any other of their heirs, executors, or administrators, shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the above-named John Cator, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the full sum of Thirty Thousand Pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, within the space or time of six calendar months next after any one or either of us, the said George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, shall come to and ascend the throne of England, together with lawful interest on the same, to be computed from the day that such event shall happen, up and home to the time of paying off this obligation, then, and in such case, the same shall become null and void; otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue.

'GEORGE Prince of Wales, L. S.
'FREDERICK, L. S.
'WILLIAM HENRY, L. S.'

These post-obit bond transactions began, however, in time to wear a very serious aspect, when Mr. Jones and Mr. Cator withdrew themselves entirely from the business. The purchasers of the bonds became alarmed, and, even up to the present hour, have been afraid of acknowledging they held any such obligations. This arises from the treasonable nature of the transactions, inasmuch as the death of the sovereign is anticipated, and therefore subjects the parties to all the penalties of petty treason. Upon this transaction, upon the mode, the inducements to, and the time of its adoption, it would be an easy matter to enlarge in terms of strong and just exe-

cration; but we forbear, and pass to circumstances of a still deeper dye.

The Princes were now destitute of resources, when Sir Thomas Dundas, whose *eminent services to his country* in a short time advanced him to the peerage, discovered a new channel. He got introduced to Mr. Hugh Watts, of the Sun Fire-office, Mr. Abraham Goldsmidt, and other monied persons. Mr. Goldsmidt, for a reasonable commission, undertook to raise money for the Princes in Holland, from his correspondents, Messrs. Abraham and Simeon Boas, of the Hague, who were bankers of great credit. They consented to advance three hundred and fifty thousand guilders, for twelve years, and receive the joint bond of the three Princes, payable to them, and vesting in them a power of attorney to partition the security, and sell it in shares or debentures of one thousand guilders each.

This bond was sent to Holland by Mr. Goldsmidt, who in a short time received the amount in bills payable to his own order, which he discounted, and took the money to the Prince. His Royal Highness paid Mr. Goldsmidt many compliments for his attention, and tendered his services, but said, as the Duke of York, who was to receive part of the money, was not present, *he must beg Mr. Goldsmidt's indulgence for the payment of the commission*, till he had arranged the division of the money with the Duke. Mr. Goldsmidt, with great good humour, bowed and retired.

This transaction caused the ruin of the lenders, who sold the entire bond in shares of a thousand guilders each, payable at their own house. To keep up their credit, for two years they paid the interest themselves; but as they received no money from the Princes, they were compelled to stop payment, and became bankrupts. Before the last examination under their commission, the French entered Holland, and seized all their property, and, as a part of it, the Princes' bond; and *the two Boas put a period to their existence—the one by a pistol, the other by poison.*

Some time after Mr. Goldsmidt was again applied to, to negotiate another loan on the continent, to the utmost extent he could borrow; but Mr. Goldsmidt declined dealing with

princes. On the marriage of the Prince, commissioners were appointed a second time to manage his affairs, and to them, shares of this bond were presented for payment, which was refused, because the debt was concealed in the schedule presented to parliament, and no provision was made for its payment. By this concealment of the full amount of his debts, the creditors of the Prince of Wales were cruelly wronged, the faith of the British parliament was trifled with and imposed upon, and the generosity of the British people most scandalously abused.

It not being found practicable to raise the money in England, it was at last resolved to try what could be done in Holland and France; and a convenient agent was found in a Mr. John James de Beaume, who undertook the business, and through whom a sum not less than 200,000*l.* in money and jewels, abating the interest and other expenses, was raised for the occasion; and on the 3rd of June, 1790, the three royal brothers, George, Frederick, and William Henry, executed a bond in favour of Mr. de Beaume, for 100,000*l.*, acknowledging themselves 'to be justly and truly indebted to him in the said sum of 100,000*l.* sterling, WELL and TRULY advanced to them as a loan, to be paid to the said John James de Beaume, or his attorney, or his executors, heirs, or assigns, or to any one authorized to receive the same on their behalf, at the time and in the proportions thereinafter mentioned. And further, that the said parties hereto engage and bind themselves, jointly and severally, and all and every their respective revenues, goods, effects, and property, in whatsoever place they may be situate, and of whatsoever nature or kind: and further covenanting to pay the interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, for the term of twenty-five years, to commence the 1st of July, 1791; and the capital sum to be paid as follows, namely, on the 1st of June, 1806, and the other in parts every year, up to the year 1815. And further reciting that the same parties renounce and disclaim all subterfuge, pretext, or reserves, that might be to the contrary, to the intents of the said agreement: and further that, to facilitate the said J. J. de Beaume in raising the said sum for the said parties, they give him full power to grant and publish parts or portions of the said loan, under

his signature, to such person or persons as may be inclined to take shares in the same, by debentures of 100*l.* each debenture, though in a printed form, to be of valid force, provided the same be verified by the signature of the said J. J. de Beaume, signed thereto, and the same to carry equal force and value as the original bond for 100,000*l.*, the said parties acknowledging to have received, at the signing the said obligation, the consideration therein named.'

It is impossible for the operative parts of a deed to be more binding in law, or freer from exceptions, than the bond of which we have given an abstract; and on this bond Mr. de Beaume proceeded to act, the same being verified by certain notaries, both in London, Paris, and Holland, to the several parties concerned therein.

It is pretended, indeed, that Mr. de Beaume never raised the whole of the money, or, if he did, that he never paid it over to the Princes' trustee, the late Mr. Thomas Hammersley; but, supposing this statement to be correct, does it change the nature of the security on the *bonâ fide* holders of any of the 'parts or portions' of the said loan? It has been held that the demand of a clear title and adequate consideration, evidently intended to embarrass and defer the payment, was known to be clogged with almost insuperable difficulties, arising out of the revolution, and the impossibility of tracing out the heirs and assigns of the original holders of these bonds, amid the confusion of such times as those which shortly succeeded the royal contract. Abundant means, however, were to be found in this country to establish the validity of these bonds, duplicates of which were attested by the notaries, Sutherland and Bonner, and afterwards deposited at Messrs. Hammersley's, through whose hands the whole transaction passed; nor has it been proved, or attempted to be so, that De Beaume ever abused the powers with which he was intrusted, by issuing other than the bonds contracted for. If he had so done, the fraud would have been easily detected, as these bonds were numbered and dated in the order in which they were issued, with all the formalities of exchequer or navy bills. When, therefore, these bonds became payable, or interest accrued, the *onus probandi* lay with the trustees to vouch for their genuine-

ness and falsehood, as they would have been ready to do, if the originals had been either lost or destroyed.

It has been said, in order to magnify the breach of faith on the part of the late King and his royal brothers, that several of the bond-owners were sent out of this country, under the Alien Act, to avoid the claim; and that, on their return to France, the greater number were massacred or guillotined; and of the latter fact some substantive proofs can be found, especially in the case of Monsieur Vette, a rich jeweller, whose wealth, however, was more likely to have caused his death than the holding of the bonds alluded to, which, neither in the amount nor object, could offend or alarm the French government, jealous and barbarous as it proved itself at that period. It was indeed asserted very confidently, by a journalist in 1823, who seems to have been imperfectly informed on the subject of these loans, and who involves the narrative in much obscurity, for purposes which we are not now called on to investigate, that fourteen persons were executed in Paris for negotiating, or being concerned in circulating such portions or shares of this loan as bore Mr. de Beaume's signature: but it might be as well insisted upon, that, because several of the reputed or actual owners of these securities were lost, on their passage to France, in consequence of the leaky state of the vessel, that such vessel had been scuttled by order of the Home Department, as that the revolutionary government could apprehend a reaction from the fact of this loan, which did not exceed 100,000*l.* sterling. We confine ourselves to this subject, having already touched on the various attempts to relieve the Prince in 1786, as a complete failure.

When Mr. Goldsmidt became a party to the loan of the Boas, the Prince's agents talked of appropriations, savings, &c., to be backed by a parliamentary grant, secured by a mortgage of the revenues of the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, of which Mr. Goldsmidt was to be the receiver; instead of which, no preparations whatever were made by the Prince to meet the first quarter's accruing interest on this loan.

No man could urge the matter with more grace and propriety on the attention of the Treasurer of the Household than

Mr. Goldsmidt. But punctuality at Carlton House was no part of its economy—the keeping an engagement no voluntary duty; for, although the Prince could not be said to break the engagement, yet he never troubled himself about the conditions of the agreement, when broken; nor, when the consequences were pointed out to him, was he at all solicitous of providing against the recurrence of them, or supplying a remedy for the future. Notwithstanding the result of this want of principle was fatal to the credit, and destructive of the life of both parties, the orgies at Carlton House were never suspended for a moment, and the claimants under this loan were treated afterwards with the same injustice and cruelty as the subscribers to Mr. de Beaume's loan.

A knowledge of the intrigues of a court, like that of the Prince of Wales, can alone authenticate its want of principle; and, although remonstrances dropped in, day after day, in private, and the journals obscurely alluded to the facts of the alarming embarrassments with which the royal Princes were at this time surrounded, no notice was taken of them, nor were any measures devised to avert the consequences which threatened to overwhelm them in ruin. The whole of the plans at last began to excite the attention of parliament, on account of the manner in which the honour of the government was compromised by a course of proceedings that would have convicted any other man, of inferior rank, before the tribunals of the country. And in the case of Mr. Goldsmidt, the sympathy of the mercantile world in particular was excited, on account of the injuries which one of the worthiest men in it was sustaining through the profligate and unprincipled manners of the Prince's advisers.

Mr. Goldsmidt's character had for many years been rising into public estimation; his credit was unbounded, and his conduct as a money-broker unexceptionable, and esteemed all over Europe. Rather too easy of access, too liberal in his advances, and too confiding in the principles and probity of others, such a disposition was little calculated to resist the importunities of a man of the polished manners of the Prince; and every attempt which flattery could embellish, which promises could satisfy, or personal civility confirm, was made to

evade the crisis then impending in Pall Mall, and in which the Prince would have succeeded, but for the unconquerable probity of the negotiator. He, however, at length withdrew, alarmed and disgusted; and, without coming to an open rupture with his employer, assisted the Boas far exceeding what might be deemed prudent, in reference to his extensive foreign transactions. But the event preyed upon his mind; it weakened his influence abroad, and was the first cause of those dismal occurrences which led to his death and the ruin of his fortunes.

We may be allowed to speak our humble praise over the grave of this benevolent Jew. Never was a man lamented by his friends more sincerely. The death of Mr. Goldsmidt was a loss to every man who stood in need of his assistance; and it is no hyperbole to say, that the young lost their benefactor, the widow her husband, and innumerable families their father. The heart of Mr. Goldsmidt was like 'the gush of fresh springs,' fertilizing what was before barren, and planting flowers amidst the waste of the human affections, to refresh and console the indigent and the unfortunate. Proud Christian! go thou, and do likewise*.

On recurring to De Beaume's loan, it is impossible to forget the time at which it was raised. Never was there a period of greater public excitement—never one when a temperate and wise policy was less listened to, between the rulers of France and England. The prejudices which had existed for centuries between two rival nations—the new position in which France stood, with respect to her ancient polity—the strength she displayed, and the doctrines she maintained in asserting her newly-acquired power and liberty—and the revolutionary spirit which her example excited among surrounding nations, caused all the monarchies of Europe to unite in misrepresenting both her internal and external administration. It is, therefore, by

* The case of Aslett, the sub-cashier of the Bank of England, must still be fresh in the recollection of many of our readers. He may owe his salvation from the scaffold, and his subsequent pardon, to his pecuniary negotiations with the Prince of Wales, and particularly to the active part which he took in assisting Mr. Goldsmidt in raising money on the Prince's bond. Nero was once known to pardon a man for a crime, but then the tyrant was drunk: the Prince of Wales was once known to show his gratitude for previous services, by pardoning a criminal; but Nero was not less the tyrant, nor was the Prince of Wales less the libertine.

no means surprising that De Beaume came in for his share of the obloquy; nor, knowing the necessities of the Prince, that his creatures should take advantage of the slander to repudiate and defraud his agent. For, at the same time that De Beaume was afraid of meeting the storm in France, the Prince felt the weight of the censure of his father's government, as likely to end in a parliamentary inquiry. Indeed, all the parties implicated in the transaction began to see the situation in which their time-serving servility had placed them; and they, as well as the Prince, trembled at the idea of a public investigation: yet it was found impossible to withdraw from an obligation which was perfect in all its parts, without having recourse to chicanery and false pretences. Rather, therefore, than risk the trial, it was pretended that De Beaume had deceived the Prince, that he was not the man he assumed to be, and had never paid over the consideration stipulated for and agreed upon.

But suppose the whole consideration had not been received; still it is acknowledged that it was in part paid, and in such valuables as were most likely to abound in the then state of France, and could be most readily conveyed and parted with. Is it not, therefore, presumptive evidence, at least, that other bonds might have been subscribed for money, in a country like France, where persons then, as now, hoarded the specie, because it was the only circulating medium, or, foreseeing the storm, provided against its explosion by an investment on the security of persons of supposed unimpeachable honour? By either of these means, a *bond fide* debt was created, which no ultimate chance could repudiate nor invalidate. How could the trustees of the Prince say when and to whom these securities were conveyed? how ascertain the uses to which they had been converted, supposing it a fraud on the part of De Beaume, or impugn and deny the claims of the holders who tendered them for payment? The diamonds transmitted by De Beaume, through Perregaux, were converted into cash, and made use of by the Prince. Did he ever pay for these diamonds? and if not, how came they into his hands?

If this reasoning be conclusive, it follows that the diamonds being vouched for as a remittance, and the proceeds acknow-

ledged, was a good and sufficient consideration, according to the terms of the bonds, and, therefore, that their payment was compulsory on the grantors; that the means taken to frustrate the payment were highly illegal, and the parties concerned in doing so guilty, according to the then law, of a misdemeanour, by a breach of covenant, by which the *bonâ fide* holder was cheated out of his property.

This is rather an argument on the case before stating it; and we now proceed to give what we know to be nearly the whole of the facts which characterize this extraordinary proceeding, and to which we have alluded in another part of these Memoirs.

The plan proposed by Mr. de Beaume, to raise a large sum of money on the continent for the use of the Princes, was very similar to that which was negotiated by the Boas in Holland—the three Princes giving their joint security for the fulfilment of the stipulations. Mr. Bicknell was accordingly directed by the Princes to prepare a bond for their execution for 100,000*l.*, payable to De Beaume, and vesting in him the power to divide it into one thousand pounds each, by printed copies of the bond, which, under the signature of De Beaume, with the amount and number certified by a notary public, should be as binding on the Princes as if executed by themselves. They made themselves, their heirs, executors, goods, and effects, liable to these conditions, just as they did in the bond to Messrs. Boas. The original bond was deposited, in trust, in the bank of Ransom, Morland, and Hammersley; while an attested copy was immediately delivered to De Beaume, and the bankers' acknowledgment of holding such a security was given as De Beaume's authority and credentials, as the agent of the three illustrious Princes, who, in this instance, seem to have taken every precaution to secure themselves against imposition.

The bankers, to facilitate De Beaume's plan, gave him a letter of introduction to their correspondent in Paris, M. Perregaux. Thus provided, De Beaume went to Paris as the agent of the Prince of Wales, and established himself there in that capacity. The French Revolution then wore a very serious aspect, troubles seemed increasing, and many of the French wished to leave their country till better times. As by

remitting bills to England they sustained a very heavy loss, the securities of the British Princes were eagerly purchased from De Beaume by those who wished to emigrate, because those securities were not only more portable than specie, but they were purchased without being subject to the fluctuations of the course of exchange, and at the time were considered as the best negotiable securities in the market. The unfortunate French who purchased them and came hither, thought themselves perfectly safe in this country; but as they could not get any money paid on them, they were involved in great difficulty, and consequently became very urgent and clamorous.

The Duke of Portland was then Secretary of State for the Home Department, and to him came many complaints from Carlton House against such of the emigrants as were most troublesome and unjust in demanding their money. The Duke of Portland, whose head, in many instances, partook of the nature of the produce of Portland Island, was very attentive to every complaint made on this subject. They were sent out of the country, as in the former instance, and landed on the continent. Twenty-six foreigners, who were creditors of the Princes, and who had placed the most implicit reliance on the honour and faith of a British Prince, were sent out of England, *though no charge was preferred against them.* Of these twenty-six unfortunate creditors of the Princes, so sent out of the country, *fourteen are traced to the guillotine,* and their deaths are recorded in the bloody annals of that instrument. The remaining twelve of the unhappy exiles were creditors under the bond of Messrs. Boas; every effort to trace them any where has been in vain—no hint at their fate shall be given, the annals of these times are sufficiently black with crime without our adding unnecessarily to the depth of the colouring. It is, however, an accredited fact, that the Prince of Wales, on several occasions, and to various persons, did deny the receipt of any consideration for the bond to De Beaume. We presume not to question the confidence which ought to be placed in his royal word, but it requires no small degree of ingenuity to reconcile the truth of his royal declaration with the *incontrovertible* circumstances disclosed in this narrative. For his conduct in the negotiation of this bond, poor De Beaume was censured,

though, from the facts that appear, it is not easy to say on what just ground the censure could be maintained. He was greatly blamed, however; and the displeasure against him amounted so high, as to induce the Princes to conceal the bond they had executed, which was actually done, the trustees delivering the bond for the express purpose; which, notwithstanding the manifest injustice of the measure, was cancelled at Burlington House, in the presence of the Duke of Portland, on the 16th of November, 1790—not quite one month after De Beaume had sent to the Prince of Wales more than one third of the whole sum as a single remittance. This remittance was made by De Beaume in diamonds, through the bank of Perregaux at Paris, to the bank of Ransom, Morland, and Hammersley, on account of the Princes. The diamonds thus remitted were to the amount of 38,653*l.* 10*s.*

To animadvert upon the conduct of the Prince of Wales on this occasion, would be a task which we will not take upon ourselves to perform. We have the bills of parcel of these diamonds now before us—they were disposed of by the bankers for the benefit of the Prince: on what ground of common justice, then, could the Prince declare, that he had received no consideration whatever for the bond? An act of this kind, committed by a private individual, would stamp his character for life; we know not, then, why a Prince can do that with impunity, which, if done by a more humble individual, would subject him to the extreme penalty of the law. Well, indeed, might every exertion be made, which money or influence could command, to prevent these circumstances from being known by the public. The consequences resulting to the Princes from their publicity might have been dreadful. The French Revolution had reduced kingships and princeships far below par; the question of an hereditary right to govern was mooted at the foot of every throne in Europe; wherever the chains of despotism clanked, or the fetters of superstition enthralled the human mind—there flashed forth the ethereal fire of reason—thrones tottered, and monarchies trembled—the sceptre was no longer considered as the symbol of government, and allegiance was laughed at as a chimera engendered in the brain of tyrants and of despots.

At a period like this, princes were called upon, if they regarded the perpetuity of their dynasties, to be rigidly correct, not only in their public but their private conduct—neither the feelings nor the prejudices of the people were to be trifled with; if obedience and allegiance were exacted on the one hand, it was expected on the other that the rights of the people should not be invaded, and that princes should sacrifice their own personal interests for the general welfare of their country.

If these sentiments be founded in truth, by what epithets can we stigmatize the conduct which was pursued by the Prince of Wales in the case of De Beaume's bond? Not the annals of Russia, in the worst times of its history, when a frown cast upon a favourite prostitute was followed by the knout or banishment to Kamtchatka—not the annals of the Inquisition in the plenitude of its persecuting frenzy, can exhibit a deeper tragedy than was enacted with the unfortunate creditors of the British Princes. The assertion, that either of the illustrious brothers was a party to the sanguinary deed—or that they in the remotest degree connived at, or sanctioned, the act, must be accompanied with proofs strong as of holy writ, before we can bring ourselves to pronounce their inculpation; nevertheless, it is much to be deplored, that where such a damning instance of guilt appears, the whole weight of the iniquity should not have been fixed upon the proper delinquents, and the stigma thereby removed which attaches to the character of the Prince of Wales and the agents whom he employed.

To return. Mr. Perregaux was fully informed, by his friendly and intimate correspondent, of every circumstance connected with the bond, from the first introduction of De Beaume to him; and was particularly requested to pay attention to the business, and to answer any questions put to him concerning it, as by so doing he would oblige the Prince of Wales very much, who in return would very readily acknowledge the services of Mr. Perregaux, by any mode in the power of his Royal Highness. He was perfectly acquainted with the remittance of diamonds made by De Beaume to the Prince, with the dissatisfaction expressed by the Prince of Wales at De

Beaume's conduct, with the cancelling of the bond, and with the determination taken by the Prince not to pay either the principal or interest.

Previously to De Beaume's trial, an English gentleman was at Paris, who had discharged several considerable employments, and who, since that period, has become *Right Honourable*, having distinguished himself by the possession of great abilities*. In Paris he was a member of the Jacobin Club, and some of his speeches in that assembly were communicated through the press to the British public. At the time alluded to, he had just begun to emerge from obscurity at Paris. His whole history was known to Mr. Perregaux, who at that time had been applied to, on the part of the Princes, to get rid of the business entirely. The bond itself had been cancelled in London, and the next step was to get released from De Beaume of the agents employed at Paris. To this gentleman Mr. Perregaux applied for co-operation; and, after some deliberation between them, it was determined to construe the bond into a treasonable practice against the French nation, for which De Beaume and his coadjutors should be apprehended, and for which it was also determined THEY SHOULD SUFFER DEATH.

De Beaume and his associates were accordingly apprehended and imprisoned. The tribunal did not at first consider it expedient to treat the charge of borrowing money as criminal; and without great exertions on that occasion by Mr. Perregaux and his confederate, they would have been acquitted. But this gentleman succeeded in impressing the tribunal with a belief in the criminal nature of the loan, by inflaming them against the prisoners, whom he represented as being in connexion with the British Princes, for the purpose of raising money to assist the French Princes in anti-revolutionary measures, and in treasonable attempts against the republic. The very bond negotiated by the prisoners was

* We purposely decline mentioning the name of this *Right Honourable* Gentleman consulted by Perregaux, as the disclosure could not strengthen the evidence of the fact, which unfortunately is too abundantly strong. The time is not yet so remote as to have swept away either the recorded evidence or the living witnesses of this transaction, or any part of it. Sufficient evidence, both oral and written, of all the facts, can now be produced in London.

denounced as treasonable in the face of it, for declaring George III. to be King of Great Britain, FRANCE, and Ireland. The prisoners were *tried, condemned*, and *executed, within twenty-four hours!*

Thus, in ONE DAY, perished Richard, Chaudot, Mestrirer, Niette, De Beaume, and Aubert, either for negotiating the Prince's securities, or for purchasing shares of them, as was also the case with Viette, a rich jeweller, who had purchased a hundred shares of the bond from De Beaume. The murderous principle thus laid down, and the precedent thus established, were adopted in subsequent instances; and from that time, every *foreign* creditor under De Beaume's bond, who was sent out of England, and landed on the continent, was executed in the same merciless mode, upon the same pretence, which was extended even to the creditors who had invested their money in purchasing shares of the bonds.

Would that we could here close this black catalogue of crime. The next victim who bled on the scaffold, for having been the purchaser of twenty shares of the Prince's bond, was Charles Vaucher, a banker in Paris, who quitted France with a large fortune in 1792. He fixed his residence in England, where he married an English lady. Having demanded payment of the interest on his shares of the Prince's bond, he was referred to the bank of Ransom and Co., when he was advised, if he wished to remain in England, never again to apply for his money; for, if he did, he would be sent out of the country, as many in his situation had already been. This threat did not deter him; he repeated his application, and was equally unsuccessful. He laid his case before Mr. Shepherd, afterwards Sir S. Shepherd, Solicitor-General, who decided that his claim upon the Prince was just and legal; and at the close of the opinion which that eminent lawyer gave are the following remarkable words: 'If any action is brought with this case, it will require the clearest proof of the facts, and that there is no collusion between De Beaume and Vaucher, because, as a bill has been passed for the payment of his Royal Highness' debts, subjecting them to the examination of commissioners, *it will be a strong argument against the justice of a demand that has been*

withheld from such examination: however, there is nothing in the bill which prevents a creditor of his Royal Highness from suing, if he chooses, in preference to going before commissioners.'

In this opinion the learned counsel seems to have anticipated the very objection that was raised by the commissioners, and the grounds on which they contested the validity of the claim. The Prince inserted it not in his schedule of debts, he disclaimed it *in toto;* and, therefore, as the Prince disavowed it, the commissioners could not be called upon to allow it; and the only redress which Vaucher could hope to obtain was by an appeal to the laws of the country. A copy of the opinion of Mr. Shepherd was sent, with a polite note, to the Prince of Wales, hoping his Royal Highness would render all legal measures unnecessary, by ordering the interest to be paid. The interest was not paid: the application was renewed to his Royal Highness, adding that, if no satisfactory answer were returned, such measures would be adopted as would *compel* his Royal Highness to pay the amount. This threat sealed the destiny of Vaucher; for on the 6th of October an *official* order was given for him to quit England in *four* days. Having other pecuniary matters to arrange, he petitioned the Duke of Portland to allow him to remain until the issue of his claims had been determined. His petition was refused; for, on the 11th of October, a warrant was signed by the Duke of Portland, directing William Ross and George Higgins, two of the King's messengers, to take Mr. Vaucher into custody, till he should be sent out of the country. On the 15th he was taken into custody, and on the 20th he was carried to Harwich, to be sent from thence to Rotterdam, where he arrived on the 23rd of the same month. Not long after his arrival on the continent, he was apprehended, taken to Paris, and thrown into prison, where he remained until the 22nd of December, 1795, on which day he was tried on the same charges as De Beaume, was found guilty, and guillotined!!!

Our limits will not allow us to enter at full into the cases of Mr. D. Lovell, the editor of the *Statesman*, and that of Mr. Auriol; but proof is on record that, with the diamonds remitted

by De Beaume, and the money advanced by Auriol, the sum received by the Prince amounted to between 60,000*l.* and 70,000*l.* sterling.

Our comments shall be short. The pages of history present a melancholy picture of the turpitude of the human heart. If we investigate the character of our kings, from the conquest to the reign of George IV., and we were to write a catalogue of all the vices inherent in our nature, and the crimes which have resulted from those vices, there is not one against which we could not select some individual king to affix his name, as having been the perpetrator of it. The country has already determined against which vices the name of George IV. ought to be affixed ; and the history which we have now given of these bond transactions will invest him with an undisputable claim to *one* which must be too obvious to require any notification from ourselves. We may, and we expect to be told, that we are deserving of censure for having now given publicity to a transaction, the principal agents of which are in their graves, and the particulars of which are only to be found amongst the musty records of the antiquary : we answer, that we pretend not to draw a portion of a picture, but *the whole of it*, the black shades of which will force themselves upon our attention, but to which we give no deeper colouring than is required to preserve the truth of the object. The facts of the case have slept, but they are not forgotten ; nor can they be forgotten while the claims of justice are unsatisfied, and while atonement and reparation are withheld from the widows and orphans of the guillotined creditors. Perhaps there never came into any court a debt so incurred, so unjustly opposed, or of so extraordinary a nature, both in the transactions that preceded, and in those that followed it, in its whole history—its rise and progress, as well as its litigation. The British Princes, by their proceedings in the business, appear as if the law of England had no security over them—as if they could, at their pleasure, contract debts, or commit their names to paper, to bind themselves with every legal solemnity, and then, in defiance of all law and justice, discharge them by a command to their own servant to destroy what they have so signed. But the servant of the Prince so acting was a high official functionary of the

people; he was also their servant, and, although he might not hesitate to compromise his character, as the servant of the Prince, he should have paused before he compromised it as the servant of the people.

We have no desire to hold up the conduct of princes to reprehension more marked than necessary, nor do we 'extenuate, nor set down aught in malice,'

> Æquum ac verum duxit, quod ipsi
> Facere collibuisset.

Parliament came three times forward to discharge the debts of the Prince of Wales; but three times was parliament deceived by schedules which concealed the post-obits and the foreign bonds. Why this concealment took place must have been best known to his Royal Highness; but a post-obit bond for 30,000*l.*, a bond for 330,000 guilders, and another of 100,000*l.*, besides the Hessian and other debts, are not such items in an account as escape the memory; but be the cause what it may, the sums never appeared in any schedule laid before parliament, though so much confidence was due to a generous nation.

The Prince of Wales could not have been ignorant of the liberality of the British people, and therefore greater was his error in evading the payment of such debts in the manner which he adopted; but, unfortunately for himself and for the honour of his country, these debts were concealed, the creditors were wronged, the parliament deceived, and the heir-apparent to the throne of England disgraced.

The traveller who has been plodding his way through dreary forests and lengthened deserts feels himself exhilarated when, on a sudden, his eyes are gratified with the sight of human dwellings, and all the cheering objects which give a charm to civilized life. So is it comparatively constituted with the historian, who having for a time had under his review scenes of tyranny, of bloodshed, of cruelty and injustice, of heartless profligacy, and systematic depravity, is pleasingly called to direct his attention to brighter scenes, and on the pages of a nation's history to transcribe some great and glorious deeds which have raised her in the scale of civilized governments,

or which, by the promotion of the arts and sciences, have increased the welfare and happiness of the people. Would such were our lot! Few have been the bright and exhilarating scenes to cheer us on our way; few the great and noble achievements to hold forth as an example to succeeding generations, or to transmit to future monarchs as a lesson by which they might learn how to govern a free and mighty people, to consolidate their power, or extend their political influence.

The great and important events which distinguished the year 1812, encircling within their influence the most ancient dynasties of Europe, and threatening to undermine the foundation of those institutions on which their fame and grandeur had been erected, had diverted the attention of the English people, in a certain degree, from the contemplation of those scenes which were passing within the immediate circle of the royal family, although to the deep and penetrating observer it was apparent that a mass of inflammatory combustibles was congregating, which in a short time might set the nation in a flame, and drive it to the verge of open and sanguinary rebellion. The muttering of the approaching storm was heard at a distance, the rumbling of the devastating mass was heard in the womb of the volcano, and the forthcoming eruption was dreaded, as threatening to carry before it ruin and destruction to the country.

In our Memoirs of the Princess Charlotte, we described, as minutely as our limits would then allow us, the severe and uncompromising spirit which seemed to actuate the Prince Regent in regard to the intercourse between his daughter and her ill-fated mother; but since that period many important circumstances have come to light, and many facts authenticated, which throw a deeper interest over the tragic scene, and which may be considered as a necessary appendage to the completion of the picture.

During the summer of 1812, the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter was subjected to considerable restriction, so as almost to preclude any interchange of those affectionate attentions which should ever occur between a mother and daughter. The Princess Charlotte resided at this time chiefly at Windsor, and was under the special care

and protection of the Queen: her removal thither, on the plea of ill health, was understood chiefly to be in order to prevent, as much as possible, her intimacy with her mother. On one occasion the Princess of Wales wrote a letter to her Majesty, and offered either to visit her daughter at Windsor, or that the Princess Charlotte might be allowed to attend on her. An answer was returned from the Queen that her Royal Highness' studies were not to be interrupted.

On another occasion the Princess of Wales travelled to Windsor expressly to visit her daughter; and as it was Sunday, there could not be any fear of interrupting her studies. She was, however, refused that gratification. The Queen said to her Royal Highness, on her leaving Windsor, 'I hope you will always preserve the same friendship which you have ever felt for me.' The Princess replied, in a tone of irony, 'Oh, certainly, your Majesty.' At this interview, the Queen offered her Royal Highness no refreshment whatever; and it was stated by the Queen that the Regent had given orders not to allow any meeting at Windsor between the Princess and her daughter. It should be observed that the Queen was always *apparently* civil to the Princess of Wales, but her Royal Highness knew too well that she was one of her most inveterate enemies.

The restrictions placed on the intercourse of the Princess of Wales and her daughter must not, however, be understood to have been such as to have prevented them occasionally seeing each other. But although the Princess was allowed to dine with her daughter once a week, in the presence of her governess and other ladies at Kensington or Warwick House, she was not suffered to see her in private, to pass any time with her, nor to enjoy that happy connexion with her child which every mother should feel, which she is anxious to cherish, and which contributes so much to mutual happiness and confidence.

The restrictions were, however, so grievous to the Princess of Wales, as well as to her daughter, that her Royal Highness expressed her determination, upon legal advice, to bring her situation before parliament.

This may be considered as the public renewal of the dis-

putes between the Prince Regent and his maltreated consort, and which was the precursor of one of the most tragic scenes recorded in the annals of the country.

On the 14th of January, 1813, the Princess of Wales transmitted a sealed letter to the Prince Regent by Lady Charlotte Campbell, to the care of the Earl of Liverpool and Lord Eldon, enclosing, at the same time, an open copy for the perusal of those noble Lords. This celebrated letter is as follows:—

'Sir,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your Royal Highness' time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own—and that your Royal Highness knows.

'But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly, or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your Royal Highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive how much more justly they belong to the mother of your daughter—the mother of her who is destined, I trust at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

'It may be known to your Royal Highness that, during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expira-

tion of the restrictions, I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth, mine own honour and my beloved child, or to throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness, the natural protector of both.

'I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal Highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the mother and the daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your Royal Highness could never inflict upon me, if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview, weekly, seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother's affections. That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

'But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon your Royal Highness' notice, I must be allowed to say that, in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a daughter from her mother will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your Royal Highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced; or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed; without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of

my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child.

'The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your Royal Highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. But I will not disguise from your Royal Highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself, that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal Highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish; and if for her sake I presume to call away your Royal Highness' attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

'The powers with which the constitution of these realms vests your Royal Highness in the regulation of the royal family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

'It is impossible, Sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your Royal Highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us! That her love for me, with whom, by his Majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know, and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence.

'But let me implore your Royal Highness to reflect how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

'The plan of excluding my daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she

should be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your Royal Highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

'Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so long the period of my daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse even with your Royal Highness and the rest of the royal family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the royal family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child?

'The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your Royal Highness, is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it. They are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I devotedly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to show, by a new example, the liberal affection of a free and generous people, to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.

'I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter,

'Your Royal Highness' most devoted and most affectionate
'Consort, cousin, and subject,
(Signed) 'CAROLINE LOUISA.'

'*Montague House, Jan.* 14, 1813.'

Nothing could be more insulting and mortifying than the conduct of the Prince Regent on the receipt of this letter, for on the following day it was returned by the Earl of Liverpool unopened. On the 16th it was again sent by Lady Charlotte Campbell, intimating, that as it contained matters of importance to the State, she relied on them laying it before his Royal Highness. It was again returned unopened to Lady Charlotte Campbell, accompanied by a note from Lord Liverpool, saying, that the Prince saw no reason to depart from his determination. On the 17th it was returned in the same way by command of her Royal Highness, expressing her confidence that the two noble lords would not take upon themselves the responsibility of not communicating the letters to his Royal Highness, and that she should be the only subject in the empire whose petition was not to be permitted to reach the throne. To this an answer was given, that the *contents of* the letter had been made known to the Prince.

On the 19th her Royal Highness directed a letter to be addressed to the two noble Lords, desiring to know whether it had been made known to his Royal Highness by being read to him, and to know his pleasure thereon. No answer was given; and therefore, on the 26th, she directed another letter to be written, expressing her surprise that no answer had been given to her application for a whole week. To this an answer was received, addressed to the Princess, stating, that in consequence of her Royal Highness' demand, her letter had been read to the Prince Regent on the 20th, but that he had not been pleased to express his pleasure thereon. Here the correspondence closed.

Some dark rumours of the existence of this correspondence had been publicly asserted, but of the precise tendency and result no direct information could be obtained. It was the means, however, of reviving the spirit of party feeling, and the operations at Carlton House were watched with an intense anxiety to obtain a clue to the proceedings, which, in the character of a close divan, were carried on within its walls. On the 19th of February the curiosity of the public was fully satisfied by the publication of the letter of the Princess to the

Regent in the *Morning Chronicle*, and it soon found its way into almost every newspaper in the kingdom. This publication produced a strong sentiment at Carlton House—it was evident that it was the forerunner of a storm, which, like an earthquake, might shake the country in every quarter, and it was impossible then to predict where the bolt might fall, or who might be the victims. The consequence of this publication fell heavily upon her Royal Highness, and it must be admitted, that those who advised that step acted both imprudently and absurdly. If by such act it was intended solely to create national antipathy to the Prince, the proceeding was imprudent, because from such result no possible good could accrue, and, as a subject, she was bound to act with submission; on the other hand, if it were intended to alarm the Prince, and thereby obtain the ends desired—then the measure was absurd. Yet it must be admitted that her situation was painful and vexatious; and it can be easily conceived that any disinterested and well-intentioned advice might be then adopted by her without due consideration. Tossed on the billows of adversity, chagrin, and disappointment, she only contemplated her misfortunes; and every straw which floated on the surge, and which promised relief or salvation, was eagerly seized, though its eventual insufficiency only increased her misfortunes.

One of the baneful effects of the publication soon displayed itself; for in answer to a note of her Royal Highness to Lord Liverpool, dated the 8th of February, desiring that he would communicate to the Regent her intention of visiting the Princess Charlotte at Warwick House, his Lordship appointed Thursday, the 11th of February, at Kensington Palace for their meeting; but on that morning the Princess of Wales received information that the Princess Charlotte was refused coming. The Princess of Wales, upon application to Lord Liverpool for the reason of such refusal, was told in a note from his Lordship, dated Fife House, February 14, 1813, that in consequence of the publication in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 10th instant, of a letter addressed to the Prince Regent by her Royal Highness, the Prince had thought fit, by the

advice of his confidential servants, to signify his commands that the intended visit of the Princess Charlotte to her Royal Highness on the following day should not take place.

The Princess replied, the next day, to Lord Liverpool, in the following letter :—

'*Montague House, Blackheath, Feb.* 15, 1813.

'Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to represent to Lord Liverpool, that the insidious insinuation respecting the publication of the letter, addressed by the Princess of Wales, on the 14th of January, to the Prince Regent, conveyed in his Lordship's reply to her Royal Highness, is as void of foundation, and as false, as all the former accusations of the traducers of her Royal Highness' honour, in the year 1806.

'Lady Anne Hamilton is further commanded to say, that dignified silence would have been preserved upon such insinuation, (more than unbecoming Lord Liverpool,) did not the effect arising from it operate to deprive her Royal Highness of the sole real happiness she can possess in this world, that of seeing her only child. And the confidential servants of the Prince Regent ought to feel ashamed of their conduct towards the Princess, in avowing to her Royal Highness their advice to the Prince Regent, that, upon unauthorized and unfounded suppositions, a mother and daughter should be prevented from meeting ;—a prohibition positively against the laws of nature. Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded further to desire Lord Liverpool to lay this paper before the Prince Regent, that his Royal Highness may be aware into what error his confidential servants are leading him, by counselling and signifying such commands.'

It cannot for a moment be questioned, that the transactions relative to the Princess of Wales form one of the most interesting and important eras in the life of the Prince of Wales. On the one hand they exhibit a cold-blooded, heartless system of the most unrelenting persecution—of machinations, worthy of being engendered in the head of a Machiavel, and of a dastardly, servile subserviency of men in power to the promotion of the views of the Regent of the realm—which could only be effected by perjury and subornation, and which were based on injustice, cruelty, and oppression.

On the other hand, they exhibit the melancholy picture of a woman—a foreigner—alienated from her home and relatives, brought by the most *civilized*, the most *enlightened*, the most *generous*, and *liberal* nation of the earth to be their queen—to be the wife of the *most accomplished gentleman* of his age, to be thrown immediately, on her arrival, into the society of the prostitutes of that gentleman—to relinquish her right and lawful bed, that others might occupy it—to be the victim of their slander and their lies—to be exiled her adopted country like a criminal, hunted by the emissaries of justice, and to return to that country to die of a broken heart.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into an enlarged statement of all the events which distinguished the persecution of the Princess of Wales, as they have been fully detailed in another work *; we shall, therefore, briefly confine ourselves to those only in which the subject of these Memoirs exhibits himself as the principal agent in his own person, or through the medium of his confidential advisers.

The English are a reflecting and penetrating people; the coolness and sobriety of their character may be the cause of their not adopting those hasty opinions, which so particularly distinguish their continental neighbours; but when once formed, the task becomes difficult to induce them to alter them, or to eradicate from their minds the belief that their judgment has not been formed on the unshakeable basis of truth and certainty.

Any flagrant act of injustice perpetrated by the government, or the head of the government of this country, is sure to be met by the indignation of the people; and the public sympathy now began to be strongly manifested at the hardships and injustice under which the Princess of Wales suffered; nevertheless, although the expression of that indignation was not yet loud and vehement, yet it was sufficiently strong to let the agents, who were secretly working in the dark, distinctly understand that the lion had begun in his rage to shake his mane and tail, and that a little additional excitement would rouse him to an ebullition of the most ungovernable fury.

* See the 'Memoirs of Queen Caroline,' in two volumes, published by Thomas Kelly.

Parliament began now to interfere; and, on the 24th of February, the Honourable Cochrane Johnstone gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion for the following Monday, relative to the proceedings ordered by the Regent to be instituted on the subject of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

The Princess herself understanding that meetings of the Privy Council were now taking place, the object of which was again to investigate the charges against her Royal Highness, deemed it necessary to take some decisive step for the protection of her honour and character. On the 27th of February, therefore, she addressed a letter to Lord Harrowby, stating, that she had received reports from various quarters of certain proceedings lately held by the Privy Council respecting her, and that she felt persuaded they must be unfounded, because she could not believe it possible that any resolution should be taken by that most honourable body upon statements which she had no opportunity of answering, explaining, or even seeing.

Lord Harrowby in his reply informed the Princess, that a copy of the Report of the Privy Council, as laid before the Prince Regent, had been transmitted the same evening to her Royal Highness by Lord Sidmouth.

The Privy Council met on the 19th of February, and at the meeting Lord Sidmouth stated, that he was commanded by his Royal Highness to inform them, that a copy of a letter from the Princess of Wales having appeared in a public paper, referring to proceedings which took place on an inquiry commanded by his Majesty in 1806, and containing animadversions upon the manner in which the Prince Regent had exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education of the Princess Charlotte, his Royal Highness had directed that the said letter, and the documents relative to the proceedings in 1806, together with copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule was annexed, should be referred to such of their Lordships, being members of the Privy Council, for their consideration, and that they should report their opinion to his Royal Highness, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it was fit and proper that the

interview between the Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte should continue to be subject to regulations and restraint.

Our limits will not allow us to give the whole of the Report of the Privy Council; but their Lordships, after a full examination of all the documents referred to them, reported that, under all the circumstances of the case, it was fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

That they entertained a just sense of the motives by which his Royal Highness had been actuated in the postponement of the confirmation of the Princess Charlotte, it appearing conformable to the declared will of his Majesty, who had directed that such ceremony should not take place till her Royal Highness had completed her eighteenth year.

Thus it appears that the Princess gained nothing by her appeal to her illustrious consort; the report of the Privy Council threw a sanction over all his proceedings, and confirmed him in his plans, gradually to cut off all intercourse between his daughter and her ill-fated mother. It must not be, impartially considered, denied, that in some of the measures which the Princess was advised to take, she did not act with that caution and prudence which her peculiar circumstances demanded. Living in a state of separation from her consort, it would have been politic to have avoided the commission of acts which she knew would be disapproved by the Prince, her husband; and on the other hand, the Prince, after the innocence of his wife had been publicly declared by the solemn report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate the charges alleged against her, should have refrained from adopting that system of annoyance and persecution, which ought only to have been pursued had she been declared guilty of the crimes imputed to her. The inventions of Lady Douglas should not have been so readily accredited, and when subsequently demonstrated to be as false as they were malicious, the Princess should have received from her illustrious husband, a public as well as a private recognition of her innocence. But the reverse of this acknowledgment was the conduct pursued; the measures of Lady Douglas were unre-

probated by the Prince, and instead of that lady being the object of his most cordial detestation, her perjuries, her falsehoods, and her calumnies were allowed to pass unpunished; and she was permitted gradually to retire to that seclusion where she could be screened from the public eye and the public indignation. That, however, the Prince was in no way concerned in the invention of her plot, or in its development, cannot be too clearly stated. At first he was unquestionably imposed on by the positiveness of her allegations; they were such as he wished to find substantiated to their full extent—he knew that his conduct towards the Princess, as his wife and the destined partner of his throne, could not be sanctioned by the commonest rules of morality or Christian feeling, and therefore it was highly gratifying to him to find that an individual had made some highly criminatory allegations against her, and which, if proved, even in their slightest shades, would go a great way to absolve him in the eyes of the people, from the charge of unjust or tyrannical treatment. It is true the allegations were of that serious and criminatory nature, that the Prince could not have adopted any other system, than an immediate and rigorous scrutiny of the truth of them. They demanded, as they involved the legitimate succession to the crown, the most grave and solemn inquiry; but when that inquiry was gone into, when the whole case was sifted over and over again, and no substantive act of guilt could be established, the conduct of the Prince ought to have assumed a wholly different character, and although a complete reconciliation might never have taken place, the Princess ought to have been restored to all those rights and privileges with which her situation as a mother, and the wife of the heir apparent to the throne, invested her. By the nation, the charges were regarded with abhorrence, and Lady Douglas and perjury are terms universally identified.

It was the wish, however, of the Prince Regent, that those charges should be reinvestigated—it was his hope, that as they would be examined by other Commissioners than those appointed under the first investigation, he should meet with a set of men more disposed to second his views, and who would confirm the truth of the allegations, even though the accused

should be condemned to expiate her crimes on the scaffold. The people considered that the Report of the first Commissioners was so distinct, and so confirmatory of the innocence of the accused party, that a reinvestigation of this was wholly unnecessary for the satisfaction of the Prince, for the royal family, or for the nation at large. The correctness of this observation is demonstrated by the result of such reinvestigation; again and again were the statements of Lady Douglas proved to be perjuries, and admitted so to be by one of the ministers of the crown in the senate of the nation.

The subsequent rejection of the Princess at Court, and her deprivation of the rights of a mother, were unkind and vexatious proceedings, and now became demonstrated the truth of statements which had been often made, and as often denied, that the various inquiries relative to the Princess were sanctioned by some members of the royal family, and even by the Prince himself.

But what was the line of conduct adopted by the Princess? It could not be expected that she should spend her future years in solitude, but there is a distinction between solitude and retirement. Her sufferings, as they were exclusively of a private nature, she ought to have concealed, but whilst she could not but lament her situation, she should have felt, that it should not excite surprise, though it could not fail of producing unhappiness.

The conduct of Queen Charlotte to her was, doubtless, unkind and oppressive, but she should have felt that she was a subject of the reigning king, and that her enemy was his consort. That the Prince should have acted differently to his wife and cousin cannot be disputed, that his conduct partook of everything that was harsh and severe, was allowed by all except the servile minions of the Court, but at the same time, the Princess should have recollected, that there is always a wide separation between the Prince and the people, and that it would be neither honourable nor praiseworthy to attempt its extension. She should not, therefore, have publicly exposed her situation nor appealed to *national* feeling, on a subject exclusively at that time *personal*, nor on the same principle, should she in a less public manner have discussed in her lite-

rary and friendly circles, the conduct of one whom all knew that she did not love, and whose happiness she could not then be expected to promote; approbation of his character she was not required to bestow, but censure it was unnecessary and improper publicly to pronounce.

But the circumstances of the case were communicated to the people, and her total rejection at court, and the alienation of her daughter were the consequences which ensued. The latter act was unquestionably as harsh as it was unprecedented. The rights of a mother are natural, and no laws nor prerogatives should deprive her of these enjoyments. The rights of parents are in this respect equal, and neither should have the power or inclination exclusively to exercise them. To her mother, the Princess Charlotte was much attached; she desired her society and advice, especially as she had received an offer of marriage, which she hesitated either to accept or refuse. But such society and advice were prohibited, and the Princess of Wales in vain appealed for justice and her rights.

We may be allowed for a time to avert our view from these proceedings, so disgraceful to the country, and to the principal agents employed in them, to exhibit the political situation of the nation, and which may be regarded as the brightest, proudest era of the Regent's life. The glorious triumphs of England at this time so completely filled the minds of the people, that they had scarcely any leisure to dwell on other objects, or discuss the expediency or policy of the measures, which the ministers of the Regent thought proper to adopt. In the month of November 1813, the Regent opened parliament in a speech from the throne, and the address was carried with an unusual degree of unanimity. So important did the moment appear, and so essentially necessary was exertion considered to be, that a loan of 22,000,000*l.*, and foreign subsidies to the amount of 11,000,000*l.*, with 100,000 stand of arms were granted without a dissentient voice. The circumstance of the enormous sum of 33,000,000*l.* being raised by a single vote of the House of Commons of this country, may be regarded with pride and exultation, as exhibiting the extraordinary resources of the empire, but at the same time who can reflect on such a profuse expenditure of the public money, without

deprecating the policy which rendered such a grant necessary, and, for the payment of the interest of which, a system of taxation has been adopted, which, although it may have been borne patiently for a time, is in its present effects dangerous, if not wholly subversive of the prosperity and welfare of the country.

Royal legitimacy may be considered as the primary cause of all the blood that was shed in Europe, from the breaking out of the revolution of France, to the sanguinary, but decisive battle of Waterloo. At the commencement of that memorable event, all Europe was opposed to the French nation. Towards its conclusion, England stood alone, against the united power of Europe. Kings fought for their thrones, nations for their constitutions, all avowedly for vengeance on the murderers of the royal family of France, and for the restoration of their exiled successors. To question 'the right divine' of kings, to dispute the virtue of hereditary power, or deny the benefits of legitimacy, were branded with the name of sedition and of treason. France alone declared war against monarchy, and the artificial orders and distinctions of society. She called on the nations of the world to follow her example, boasted of her freedom from tyranny, while her counsels were torn to pieces by little knots of traitorous tyrants, who violated her chartered rights, and undermined the pillars of her freedom. Enthusiasm carried to madness—confidence, the result of ardent resolution—talents the most extraordinary,—and principles the most base,—wielded her energies and directed her powers. She went on increasing. Every variety of the republican form of government had been tried and successively discarded, till, in the usual progress of events, her first and last Consul became her first and last Emperor, and the despotism of the many, for which she had exchanged the good and evil approved for ages, gave way in turn to a new despotism—the arbitrary will of one man—whose insatiable ambition and stupendous talents raised France and himself to the pinnacle of glory in the day of his power, but the very greatness thus created rendered the reverse which both endured, only the more complete and appalling.

At the commencement of the regency, Napoleon was in the

zenith of his power: he sat on a column of thrones, his foot-stool was the neck of Princes, he held in his hand a chain, binding to himself the head of the Christian church and the liberties of nations. His resources were incalculable, his power boundless. To divide that power and to exhaust those resources, had been the work of England from his first assumption of the sceptre. With the era of the regency her labour blossomed into hope. The military talents of Napoleon had conquered in succession the generals of Europe; and the forces of France had overcome the armies of every other power. She had met them one by one and destroyed them in detail. A new day arose, and the sun of Napoleon's grandeur bended to its setting.

Arthur Wellesley, the hero of Assaye, with military genius equal to his antagonist, and with perseverance and determination of a higher character, was called to conduct the operations of Britain in the European Peninsula, having superseded Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard in the command *. The courage of Wellesley was not rash nor headlong; his plans extended beyond a single battle. He beheld from Vimiera the invasion of France. He conquered by retreat, gained time and strength, and waited for the opportunity of becoming the attacking force. The Marshals of France undertook in succession the glorious task of driving the intruder into the sea. They were each in turn compelled to yield to the superior talent of their adversary. A long succession of victories called for the gratitude of England in the year 1812. The progress of Sir Arthur Wellesley, now the Duke of Wellington, excited the admiration of Europe. A new spirit was excited, and, by a combination of efforts, the usurper was driven from his throne. But it is unnecessary to anticipate. The campaign of 1812 commenced with the investment of Ciudad Roderigo; it was followed by the battle of Salamanca; the allied army entered the capital of Spain; Por-

* The public opinion of these officers was at the time expressed in the following distich:—

Sir Arthur and Sir Harry, Sir Harry and Sir Hew,
Sing cock a doodle—cock a doodle—cock a doodle doo;
Sir Arthur is a gallant knight; but for the other two,
Sing doodle doodle doodle doo, doodle doodle doo.

tugal was declared free of its invading enemies; the blockade of Cadiz was abandoned by the French. These successes, and the corresponding disasters of Napoleon in Russia, reduced him to offer terms of peace to England, which were rejected by the Prince Regent, and events were left to pursue that course, which ended in the deliverance of Europe, and the exalted glory of the British nation.

The arms of Great Britain on the continent were still victorious; Suchet was repulsed from his defensive lines, and Wellington pressed on by Salamanca to Madrid; King Joseph Buonaparte retired upon the Ebro, and a decisive action at Vittoria left Wellington a conqueror and compelled the French army to retreat across the Bidassoa. The castles of Pampeluna and Sebastian fell before the united army, and Wellington entered France.

Prussia withdrew her aid from the Emperor Napoleon, and entered into a treaty of alliance with Russia. Sweden also united against France. Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Denmark, and Switzerland, joined with Austria. This powerful confederacy, excited by the efforts of the British army in Spain, pushed on in another quarter with similar success. France was at once invaded in different provinces by the army of the Peninsula, and the powers of her northern enemies.

Before crossing the Rhine, the allied Sovereigns offered peace, and confirmation of extended territory to France. But the blood shed on French ground demanded atonement, and a great battle was fought on the 1st of February, 1814. After this the veteran Blucher marched towards Paris, and Napoleon, who sought in vain to give battle to the allies in succession, found himself surrounded in the capital, and it was decided in the councils of the invaders that they would no longer treat with him or his family. The ultimatum of the Emperor, claiming France, yet more extended, for himself, Italy for Eugene Beauharnois, and a throne for each member of his family, was transmitted to the English Secretary of State, then at the head-quarters of the British army, and indignantly rejected.

The most splendid results followed the entry of the army under Wellington into the city of Bourdeaux, and the sangui-

nary battle of Thoulouse. In Paris, Napoleon resigned his crown and empire for the sovereignty of Elba; in London, Louis XVIII. was received in great state by the Prince Regent, congratulated on his restoration, conducted to Dover, and committed to the safeguard of the Duke of Clarence, who commanded the fleet that was to guard the descendant of the Bourbons to the country of his birth and the throne of his ancestors.

England may be considered at this period as standing upon the pinnacle of her greatness. The Continental nations regarded her as the Saviour of Europe; and, perhaps, in no era of her history, had the monarch of it greater reason to be proud of the sceptre which he swayed.

Still, however, the country had to deplore the existence of intestine broils, occasioned by the repeated attempts of the Princess of Wales to re-establish herself in those exalted relations of life to which her rank entitled her, and to be restored to the enjoyment of that society from which she was debarred on a mere assumption of guilt, which had been negatived and disproved by one of the highest tribunals of the country. The policy adopted on this occasion by the Regent and his advisers appears to have been as crooked as it was unjust. It was not the peace nor the tranquillity of the country to which their measures referred, but if the spirit of malice, of malevolence, and hatred, could be gratified by the persecution and vilification of an innocent woman, their ultimate wishes seem to have been obtained, and their triumph was loud and sonorous in proportion as their endeavours were successful. It is, however, impossible to account for the infatuation of courtiers. This is the common mistake with all the events of the revolutions which we have witnessed since that of America in 1775, to the death of Louis XVI., up to the deposition of Napoleon, and the return of Louis XVIII. to the throne of France; courtiers have been everything, the people nothing; the voice of their grievances has been drowned in the reckless profusion of a Prince's profligacy, and the unhallowed perquisites of titled paupers. Selfish, tyrannical, and corrupt, courtiers are half idiots, half voluptuaries—separated from the people by their rank, and alike ignorant of their intelligence, temper,

and judgment, they *will* their subjection by the means of standing armies, by places, pensions, and largesses. They forget that a few only can attain to or enjoy those privileges, that the bulk of the people can neither participate nor understand the influence exercised over them by the few, and are ready to follow any leader, or take up with any system of government that can better their condition. That they are not, especially the English people, the patient servile race, which it was the policy of the late King's government to describe them, and that in the case of the Queen their sympathy was heartfelt, their abhorrence invincible, and their hatred sincere; this turned out to be the fact at the coronation, as we shall have occasion to show, where they crowded, rather to witness the catastrophe than the gorgeous pageant; and which, neither in its pompous display of wealth, the magnificence of its details, nor the splendour of the banquet, could attract, surprise, nor intoxicate.

Before we enter upon any further historical detail of the important transactions which distinguished and disgraced the country respecting the persecution of the Princess of Wales, and which, as emanating from the Regent himself, form an important era of his life, we may be allowed the few following discursory remarks. It cannot be properly contended, that if the Princess had been really guilty of the charges brought against her, she should not have been tried and condemned, for no circumstances can constitute any apology for the commission of crimes so flagrant and detestable—so long perpetrated, and so frequently repeated, as those which she was stated to have committed. If she were guilty, then for the honour of the country—for the benefit of mankind—for the dignity of the crown—it was right that she should be not only exposed, but punished. But not condemned unheard—not denied the prayers of the people before one charge was substantiated—not alienated from the society of her only child on a mere imputation of guilt—not held up as an object of universal detestation before one allegation was proved. It was right that, if guilty, she should be punished, but not to be tried by her accusers—by her decided, inveterate enemies—by those who had planned her destruction, and who sought by

her condemnation to vindicate their past conduct. All this was unjust, and, therefore, improper; and succeeding generations, when calmly deliberating on the transactions of the last few years of this eventful era, will accurately perceive the source of many of the calumnies which have existed, and will trace them to the baneful and improper efforts of an unprincipled, corrupt, and unjust administration.

The Princess now, with more impetuosity than prudence, determined to bring her case before parliament, and accordingly transmitted a letter to Lord Eldon, and to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which she acknowledged to have received from Lord Sidmouth, a copy of a report made to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, by an appointed number of the members of the Privy Council, and in consequence of that Report, her Royal Highness throws herself upon the wisdom and justice of parliament. She desired the fullest investigation of her conduct during her residence in this country; she feared no scrutiny, provided she was tried by impartial judges in a fair and open manner, consistently with the laws of the land. She desired to be treated as innocent, or to be proved guilty.

The letter was delivered to the Speaker in such a slovenly, unofficial manner, that he doubted its authenticity, and would not read it until such time as it had been properly authenticated. It was, however, subsequently read, and every effort was now made to prevent disclosures. The gallery was cleared during the discussions, and Lord Castlereagh with more sophistry than feeling, excused the cruelty towards the Princess, by maintaining the right of the Regent to act as he pleased, and censuring the indelicacy of parliamentary interference. Sympathy was now raised into clamour without doors, and a less restricted intercourse was permitted between the parent and child.

Lord Eldon, however, treated the letter transmitted to him in a very summary manner, and as far as it respected the inter course of the Princess of Wales with her daughter, was of the highest consequence. His Lordship instead of laying the letter of her Royal Highness before the House of Lords, returned it, with an answer to the following effect.

That his Lordship found himself under the necessity of returning the letter of her Royal Highness, which he thought it his duty to advise the Princess, from considerations of propriety, as well as safety, not to make public. The letter concluded with an intimation, that by command of the Prince Regent, the visits of her Royal Highness to Warwick House were in future to be discontinued.

To the above, an answer was returned by the Princess of Wales, expressing her surprise at the manner, as well as the matter of his lordship's communication, and particularly at his care for the safety of her Royal Highness, but intimating that his Lordship need be under no apprehension on that ground, as the Constitution and Laws of England were her safeguard.

On the 5th March a motion was brought before the House of Commons, by Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, who submitted a series of resolutions, to elicit further information on the separation of the Princess and her daughter. He was foiled by Lord Castlereagh, who justified the minute of Council by which the innocence of her Royal Highness was declared and avowed : that no charge of criminality had been exhibited against that high individual, and he also attempted to explain why proceedings had not been instituted against Sir John and Lady Douglas for perjury, but the motion had his decided negative. The Prince Regent, he said, in the direction of his family, had exercised that right which was inherent in every husband and father in the country. He had the only right to dictate what was proper for the education of his daughter, and it would be indelicate in the House to interfere. On this occasion, however, Mr. Stuart Wortley, now Lord Wharncliffe, made a speech which produced a great sensation. He exposed the hypocrisy of Lord Castlereagh, for why, he said, was it necessary now to ransack the evidence of 1806, and to rake together the documents of that period, to found a report upon what regulations were necessary to govern the intercourse between the Princess and her daughter, when he could at once say, —I am father of this child, and I will act as a father is empowered to do. I am Prince of these realms, and I will exercise my prerogative of educating the successor to the throne.

The concluding observations of Mr. Wortley were most striking. He said, he had as high notions of royalty as any man, but he must say, that all such proceedings contributed to pull it down. *He was very sorry we had a royal family* who did not take warning from what was said and thought concerning them. They seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their own welfare and respectability. He would not have the Prince Regent lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct would bear him harmless through all these transactions. He said this with no disrespect to him or his family; no man was more attached to the House of Brunswick than he was, but had he a sister in the same situation with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, he would say that she was exceedingly ill treated. This was a severe castigation for royalty, and it was well known that it was felt most severely in the quarter to which it was directed; nevertheless, it produced not the slightest change in the conduct of royalty; on the contrary, it appeared to increase the virulence of the resentment, and the future proceedings were marked by additional cruelty and injustice.

On the 15th of March, Mr. Whitbread, in giving notice of a motion in the House of Commons for an address to the Regent, praying him to order a prosecution against Lady Douglas, for the evidence given by her respecting the Princess of Wales, spoke in unmeasured terms of indignation of the disgusting statements put forth by certain papers, respecting her Royal Highness, which he thought called loudly for the interference of the House. He asked Lord Castlereagh, whether instructions had been given by the Prince Regent to the Law Officers to prosecute Lady Douglas for perjury. Whether Lady Douglas had been examined in the presence of Sir John Douglas, in the interval between the 13th of February and the 5th of March, the day on which discussions respecting the Princess of Wales took place in the House with closed doors; and also whether their examinations had been since resumed and continued.

Lord Castlereagh having declared himself altogether unable to give any answers to these questions, Mr. Whitbread said, he had no hesitation in delivering his decided opinion, that

either the Princess of Wales must be brought to trial, or Lady Douglas be prosecuted for perjury.

In the further progress of the debate, Mr. Whitbread denounced the newspapers, the *Morning Post* and *Herald*, as teeming with calumnious evidence against her Royal Highness; the latter paper being then edited by Sir Bate Dudley, who was known to enjoy the intimacy of the Prince Regent, and who was, in fact, well rewarded for the servile and scandalous part which he acted in this memorable affair.

On the 17th, Mr. Whitbread moved an address to the Prince Regent, recommending the prosecution of the two newspapers, and expressive of the deep concern which the House felt at publications of so gross and scandalous a nature; and praying that he would be pleased to order proper measures to be taken for bringing to justice all the persons concerned in so infamous a business, and particularly for preventing the continuance or repetition of so high an offence.

On this occasion, Mr. Whitbread took the opportunity of stating that he had advised a conciliatory approach by her Royal Highness to the Prince; that a noble friend of his had asked his advice, and that he, on that occasion, had sketched out a letter of dignified submission from her to the Prince: but this healing and desirable step was prevented by the Princess receiving information that Sir John and Lady Douglas were again under examination, and that, too, with the sanction of the Chancellor. Emissaries, he said, had been despatched to pry into every petty circumstance of private life in every dirty corner, to inquire of every human being who would swear to circumstances he neither saw nor knew. The noble Lord (Castlereagh) knew nothing of all this; it was the Lord Chancellor who undertook to provide a case. Towards the conclusion of a long and energetic speech, of which a rough outline is here given, the Princess of Wales, or rather (Mr. Whitbread said) he, in her name, called on that house, the representative of the people of England, to become the protectors of an innocent, traduced, and defenceless stranger, the mother of their future Queen.

The motion of Mr. Whitbread was negatived. But by these discussions in Parliament, and the publication of the accusa-

tion and defence of the Princess of Wales, the public mind had become greatly agitated; and addresses of congratulation were presented to her Royal Highness from numerous public bodies.

The City of London took the lead on this occasion. On the 2nd of April a common hall was held, to consider the propriety of addressing her Royal Highness on the late infamous attempt upon her honour and her life. The address was carried almost unanimously: even those who opposed it most readily admitted her innocence. Amongst the latter was Sir William Curtis, who said that she had been grossly, infamously, and abominably treated,—her innocence was undoubted,—her persecution had been shameful.

In the month of March, an illustrious female, the Duchess of Oldenburg, sister to the Emperor of Russia, made her appearance at the court of the Prince Regent, and curiosity was all afloat to discover the motive of her visit to this country. That the ostensible one—a mere complimentary visit to the Prince Regent—was not the real one, was at once apparent to the most superficial observer; and, in fact, the extraordinary abilities which this lady possessed showed that she was well adapted for any intrigue, private or political, with which she might be intrusted. It is not the first time that the sagacious diplomatists of England have been overreached by the art and stratagem of a woman. The matrimonial alliances of the royal family of this country have scarcely ever been founded on an accession of political power; and, in fact, in one point of view, the established religion of the country has been the cause of the royal family being restricted to a very narrow sphere in the formation of their matrimonial connexions, the majority of the reigning Houses of Europe being of the Catholic religion; and, therefore, by the Act of Settlement of this country, incompetent to intermarry with any of the blood royal of England. It is, therefore, to the poor and haughty Protestant Houses of Germany that our Princes and Princesses have almost universally applied for the propagation of the illustrious blood of the Guelphs; and if an addition to the list of pensioners may be considered as an advantage to the country, the people of it have very good and cogent reasons for

congratulating themselves on the number of German grafts which have been imported into this country, for the meritorious object of perpetuating the Guelphic stock.

The legitimate succession of the crown of these realms now rested solely upon the Princess Charlotte; the Duke of York had no issue by his marriage, not one of the other royal Dukes was married, and, therefore, it became a subject of the highest importance to the support of royal legitimacy, that the Protestant Courts of Europe should be examined for an individual, who might be deemed possessed of those qualities which should render him a fit husband for the heiress presumptive of the English crown.

In a political point of view, perhaps, there was no individual more proper to fill that envied station than the illustrious Prince to whom, at this time, the eyes of the English nation were directed. The Prince of Orange was at this period serving in Spain as aide-de-camp to Lord Wellington, and in many respects, but particularly in a political one, not a more appropriate consort could have been selected for her Royal Highness. Although no permanent union could have been expected of the two Houses of Brunswick and Nassau, yet a reciprocity of interests would have been established, highly conducive to the welfare of the two nations; which had, in some degree, been confirmed at the accession of William III., but which had been lost sight of, or wholly neglected, as soon as the Brunswick line succeeded to the throne of these realms. The natural and proverbial jealousy of the Dutch, in all matters relative to commerce, and especially when a principle of monopoly presents itself, would have always prevented any great advantages accruing to this country from the alliance; at the same time that a difficulty would have arisen, and almost of an insuperable nature, in regard to the country which the Prince of Orange might adopt as his place of residence. Beset, however, with difficulties as this projected alliance appeared to be, it was nevertheless considered as the most eligible which could present itself under the then existing state of the political circumstances of Europe. The Prince of Orange was consequently recalled from Spain, as it was then stated in the public prints, owing to the change of affairs in

Holland, in which country his presence was imperiously required; but he actually landed in England, and in the month of December, 1813, was introduced to the Princess Charlotte at Warwick House, by the Prince Regent himself. The introduction passed off with the usual formalities; and it is certain that the impression which the young suitor made upon the heart of his intended illustrious consort was by no means unfavourable, but far from being indicative of affection.

Intrigue, stratagem, and manœuvre were now the leading principles of the actions of the different parties, accordingly as they espoused, or were opposed to the projected union. The Prince of Wales stood at the head of the party most favourable to the alliance; and, of course, it was considered that, as he had the control of his daughter's hand, her consent, as a matter of state policy, in which the affections of the heart are never taken into the account, would follow as a matter of course. Supported by such influence, the Prince of Orange already saw himself the husband of the heiress presumptive to the first crown in the world; and in order to render himself still more worthy of that influence, and to ingratiate himself still deeper with his future father-in-law, he imprudently and impolitically ranged himself on the side of the enemies of the Princess of Wales, little suspecting at the time that he would thereby draw down on him the indignation, if not the positive hatred, of his future spouse.

There is something revolting to the feelings of the heart in royal marriages; and founded, as they generally are, on political motives and national aggrandizement, they cannot be viewed through the same medium as those which take place in the humbler spheres of life; for, as the object is seldom the choice of the heart, all that can be rationally required is the absence of positive dislike. It is, however, a fortunate case for the daughters of royalty, that, although they possess not the power of selecting the individual on whom they will confer their hand, yet they have the privilege of rejecting any one selected by others. The laws of England admit of no compulsory marriages, and it is now admitted that the Marriage Act of this country, as far as it regards the royal family, is a stain upon the legislature that enacted it, and the cause of

the grossest breaches of morality on the part of those who are unfortunately subject to its provisions.

It is true that the Prince of Orange appeared before the Princess Charlotte with many strong and powerful recommendations, indeed in a greater degree than any other Protestant Prince of Europe. In his education he was decidedly an Englishman; he was known to be a warm and enthusiastic admirer of the British constitution and the British character; but his mind was tinctured with many of the narrow and contracted prejudices which so particularly distinguish his countrymen: yet a permanent residence on the English soil, and a closer identity of mutual interests, would have gradually weaned him from many of those absolute monarchical principles with which his general character was imbued. The Princess Charlotte respected him as an individual—she esteemed him for the possession of many manly and moral virtues: he had assisted in fighting the battles of her country, and in no instance was he known to tarnish his character as a soldier and a citizen; but when he appeared before her in the character of a suitor, the affections of the heart were then to be called into play, and, powerfully as those affections might have reigned in the breast of the Princess Charlotte, if her fate had thrown her into the society of an individual whose temper, habits, and dispositions were congenial with her own, yet, as there was nothing of that marked character in the dispositions of the Prince of Orange, she viewed him with common indifference, and with feelings which had no relation whatever with the passion of love.

At the head of the second, and, as far as regarded the personal affections of the Princess Charlotte, the most powerful party, stood her mother; and, perhaps, in no instance was the Prince of Wales more decidedly frustrated in his plans, than in this marriage of his daughter, arising from the lamentable differences which existed between the royal parties, and the consequences of which press heavily upon the nation at the present moment. If anything were required to demonstrate the falsity of the principles which are adhered to in the education of the royal children, the case of the Princess Charlotte would be in itself all-sufficient. Estranged from the

world, and restricted to the senseless and depressing ceremonies of what is styled court etiquette, few opportunities are allowed the parent of becoming acquainted with the ruling dispositions, the strength or weakness of the existing virtues, or even of the actual absence of those, which ought particularly to distinguish a sovereign of this country. In regard to any enlarged and correct knowledge which the Prince of Wales possessed of the real and intrinsic character of his daughter, or of the manner in which, to gain any particular end, he should have known to humour her prejudices and her foibles, he may be said to have been as ignorant as he was of the state in which the debtor side of his accounts exhibited itself. Though himself, perhaps, one of the most rebellious and undutiful of sons, spurning at all parental control, and acting in open defiance of a father's admonitions or a mother's entreaties, yet, as a father himself, he exacted the most unqualified obedience—his will was law, and any opposition to that will exposed the culprit to the utmost fury of his haughty and uncompromising spirit. If he had applied himself to the study of the character of his daughter, he would have discovered that hers was one of those natures which will not be controlled; that it might have been led to any point by the silken cord of affection; but that to attempt to drag it thither by chains would only be met by the most sturdy and determined opposition. The Prince Regent could not have been ignorant of the strong filial affection which glowed in the bosom of the Princess Charlotte for her mother; and, consequently, it was highly impolitic in him to sanction or encourage any acts, on the part of her intended husband, which partook even of the semblance of party spirit, or which could be construed into a tacit acknowledgment of the guilt imputed to her mother. But the Prince overlooked every object that had any relation to the heart, and regarded the marriage as one of state necessity, and to which his daughter would conform, in the true spirit of all royal marriages, without considering it necessary to consult for a moment whether, at the same time, she could give her love. In regard to her mother, the Princess resented the conduct adopted by the Prince of Orange, which partook of all the partial and virulent spirit which characterised that of the Prince Regent. The

Princess of Wales, therefore, objected to the union on the grounds, that as his Serene Highness was entirely under the influence, and acted on all occasions in strict conformity with the views of the Prince Regent, she saw no prospect of any amelioration in her situation resulting from such union; on the contrary, that the Princess Charlotte being then constantly under the *surveillance* of her husband, and her husband under the immediate influence of her most inveterate enemy, she should be subject to a much more restricted intercourse with her daughter. The Prince of Orange, in the opinion of the Princess of Wales, had offered her a direct personal affront. She was the mother of his intended consort; and, whatever difference might exist between the Regent and herself, which, under existing circumstances, ought to have been considered as entirely personal, she did not deem it becoming in the individual who had declared himself her future son-in-law, to espouse the part of the father against the mother, and to treat the latter with every mark of disrespect. Was the mother of the Princess Charlotte, for whose hand he was then suing, not worthy of any personal attentions on the part of the suitor? And on a cool discussion of the grounds of that neglect, what other construction could be put upon it, than that he believed in the calumnies which had been promulgated against her, and consequently deemed her unworthy of his attentions. But was this a conduct likely to instil into the heart of the Princess Charlotte any love or affection for him? Did it open to her, when by her marriage she would be emancipated from parental control, any cheering prospect of alleviating the situation of her mother, and rendering her hours more happy, by a more frequent communication with her? Did it not rather bring her into closer collision with her parents, accordingly as she espoused each respective party, and thereby expose her to a source of continual quarrel and dissension, from which the connubial state should be exempt? In the frequent conversations which took place between her Royal Highness and the Prince of Orange, this subject was often brought upon the tapis; and the latter being asked by the Princess, to what line of conduct she should be obliged to conform in regard to her mother, she was answered, that as

far as her visits to her mother extended, they would be occasionally allowed; but that her mother should never enter the house of the Prince of Orange. 'Then,' said the Princess Charlotte, rising indignantly from her chair, 'never will the Princess Charlotte of Wales be the wife of the Prince of Orange.'

We have considered this matter as preliminary to the exposure of as deep a political intrigue as ever was practised, even in the celebrated ages of skilful diplomacy which marked the reigns of Louis XIV. of France and Elizabeth of England. It is not always to our own journals, correct and authentic as they may be in the general mass of their information, that we are to look for an exposition of the secret intrigues of foreign courts, the depth and result of which can only be ascertained on the spot, assisted by an enlarged intercourse with the great leading characters who are then enacting their parts on the political stage, and who are in possession of those private sources of information which it is the great policy of courts to keep hermetically sealed from the public. The Emperor Alexander of Russia would never have signed the treaty of Tilsit, but for the intrigues of a woman; and having been himself made the dupe, he considered that he was only balancing the account, if he sent a female to the mighty Regent of the British dominions, who, although she might not be gifted with superlative beauty, yet whose endowments were of that superior cast, that she would be able to turn the heads of the ministers who presided over the 'collective wisdom' of the nation, and so hoodwink the great potentate, that he might be led to flatter himself, that she had left the rugged shores of the Neva, to pay due homage to his transcendent virtues, to applaud his meritorious persecution of an innocent woman, and to carry back with her, to her less civilized country, a true and faithful account of the decorum, the morality, the virtue, justice, and honour, which at that period so eminently distinguished the court of Carlton Palace.

From a work published at Leipzig *, entitled 'The History of the most extraordinary Events of the European Courts in

* Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Begebenheiten der Europäischen Höfen im Jahren 1813—1815.

the Years 1813—1815,' we translate the following extraordinary passage:—

'A considerable degree of sensation has been excited at the court of St. Petersburg, by a projected union between the Prince of Orange and the Princess Charlotte of Wales. A matrimonial alliance between the families of Brunswick and Nassau cannot but be regarded by Russia with jealousy and alarm. The maritime power of England is already sufficiently great to contend against the confederated force of Europe, and the addition of Holland to its power would enable it to lay every other maritime state at its feet, and to wage a war of conquest in every quarter of the globe, to the destruction of every colony belonging to the Continental states. The Prince Regent of England is known to be more under the influence of female power than any existing potentate of Europe; and it was therefore resolved to despatch a female diplomatist to London, who, under the pretence of paying a visit to his Royal Highness, was secretly to instil into the mind of the Princess Charlotte a repugnance to the union, and to take any other measures which her talents might suggest to prevent the marriage being consummated. This diplomatist is the Duchess of Oldenburg, the sister of the Emperor Alexander; and perhaps there is not a court of Europe which can boast of a female better adapted to the task, or who, in any affair which requires management and secresy, can pretend to vie with her.'

The period of the arrival of this female in England, and the extraordinary publicity which was given to all her motions, must be still fresh in the recollection of many of our readers. Fête followed upon fête; the Duchess of Oldenburg the magnet, the great focus of attraction. The Pulteney Hotel, the place of her residence, was the resort of all the nobility of the country. She became the leader of fashion; the vivacity of her manner, her sparkling wit, and the strong natural abilities with which she was endowed, rendered her an acquisition to every society in which she was introduced. It would be impossible to follow this female missionary (for politics have their missionaries as well as religion) through the various intrigues which she set on foot to succeed in the object of her mission; and, although it must not be said that the refusal of the Princess Charlotte to accept of the hand of the Prince of Orange was effected by the influence of the Duchess of Olden-

burg, yet there is little doubt that it co-operated with other causes to bring about that event, and to which it must be added that it was the Duchess herself who first introduced the Princess Charlotte to Prince Leopold.

In the mean time, every attempt was made on the part of the Prince Regent to bring the intended alliance to an immediate consummation. Expostulation was used—the interests of the country demanded it; and it was her duty, as the heiress-presumptive of the crown, to sacrifice all personal feelings to the advancement of the welfare of the nation. The Princess Charlotte listened with great attention to these sage admonitions. The theory on which the parental advice was given might have been good, but unfortunately she had before her a living proof of the misery which generally attends royal marriages. She appealed to the times of the Virgin Queen of England to show that it was not absolutely necessary for a Queen of England to be married to raise the glory of the country, to consolidate its power, and to render it flourishing and prosperous in all its commercial and political relations. She flattered the hereditary pride of her father, by referring to the cheering prospects with which the country was blessed in the numerous progeny of her grandfather, and the consequent absence of all alarm of a legitimate succession of the crown in the illustrious House of Brunswick. The expostulations and arguments of the father having failed, recourse was had to threats: insinuations were thrown out that it was in the power of the sovereign, with the sanction of the legislature, to compel a refractory and disobedient member of the royal family to adopt that course which was essential to the interests of the nation; nor could it be expected from the country that it would contribute to the support of any such individual, who, from mere personal feelings, founded perhaps on whim and caprice, could let an opportunity slip, by which the nation could be aggrandized, and the legitimate succession to the crown confirmed and perpetuated in the reigning family.

The threats had the same effect as the expostulations. The Prince Regent saw himself defeated in every quarter; and, judging that the opposition of his daughter arose from the persuasion or influence of the mother, a still greater degree

of coercion was resolved upon, and that, in fact, all intercourse should be prohibited between the mother and the daughter.

Circumstances, however, arose which rendered this resolution difficult of execution. The period was at hand when, by the decision of George III., the Princess Charlotte was to be declared of age—when she would become the child of the nation, and emancipated from the fetters of parental control. It was, however, now considered requisite that the Princess Charlotte should be brought out, and especially as it was now generally understood that the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and other illustrious characters, had expressed their determination to visit the Prince Regent, as a token of their gratitude to the country, which they termed the Saviour of Europe in the late important struggle. On the 8th of June they arrived in this country; and every distinction which could do honour to the king of a great people, in his reception and entertainment of such illustrious guests, was lavished on the royal visiters. Many persons of interesting and important character composed the suite of the Emperor and King: amongst them, the veteran Blucher more particularly claimed the attention of the people. On his arrival at Carlton Palace, the Prince Regent, in the sight of an assembled multitude, adorned the venerable Marshal with a portrait of himself, circled with diamonds and suspended by a blue riband: this peculiar token of distinction was presented by the Regent's own hand.

Every mark of royal hospitality was visible in the treatment of the illustrious visiters, who appeared astonished at the scenes they witnessed. The naval and military strength of the kingdom was reviewed, its docks and arsenals inspected, its universities visited, its chivalric institutions were made the instruments of new honours to the royal and imperial visiters, and the ordinances of religion sanctified the whole. What display of pageantry could equal the humiliation and thanksgiving of a powerful nation and her great allies, represented by their monarchs, beneath the mighty dome of St. Paul's.

The visit of the illustrious strangers to this country rendered it necessary that a drawing-room should be held; and, accord-

ingly, two were announced, one of which was for the avowed purpose of introducing the Princess Charlotte, and at which the Princess of Wales was informed that she would be allowed to be present. Various conjectures were afloat as to the necessity of holding two drawing-rooms, when one might suffice; and, as it is necessary that every journalist should represent himself as being in the secret of the cause of every action committed by any branches of the royal family, it was immediately bruited that the reason of holding two drawing-rooms could be no other than to allow the Princess of Wales to appear at one court without her husband, and her husband to appear at the other without his wife—which, on the whole, would form a good practical illustration of the Dutch weather-glass, in which, when the lady is within, the gentleman turns out, and when the latter enters, the lady leaves it. The conjectures and surmises, and all the fabrics which were constructed upon them, were, however, suddenly thrown to the ground by the following communication from the Queen to the Princess of Wales, dated Windsor Castle, May 23, 1814.

'The Queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales that she has received a communication from her son, the Prince Regent, in which he states that her Majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her court cannot be dispensed with; and that he desires it to be understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination, *not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.*

'The Queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of her Majesty's receiving her Royal Highness at the drawing-rooms.

'CHARLOTTE R.'

The Princess remonstrated with the Queen, but in vain. A lengthened correspondence took place upon the occasion, but the Prince Regent appeared determined not to relax a tittle from the line of conduct which he had chalked out for himself, and in which he was most pertinaciously and servilely assisted

by his mother. No court of Europe could at this time present such a scene of intestine feud and discord, as was now displayed at the court of Carlton House. The husband at war with the wife—the wife at war with the husband; the daughter against the father—the father against both mother and daughter; and the grandmother standing between them all, like some Hecate, brandishing the flame of discord, and spreading it far and wide wherever her influence extended. We pretend not to be the biographers of the whole glorious fraternity of the royal family, but we opine that it would have been far more creditable to Queen Charlotte to have attended a little more strictly to the backslidings of some of her own immediate offspring, than to have shown herself such a merciless persecutor of an illustrious female, who, by the judges of the land, and the unanimous voice of her inquisitors, had been declared innocent; but whom, for purposes which could not be concealed, her husband was determined to consider guilty, and to visit with all the consequences attached to guilt. Could the Prince of Wales have dallied in the lap of a certain Marchioness (we mean not she of Conyngham), and which gave rise to the celebrated kick from 'Yarmouth to Wales,' if he had been obliged to conform himself to the more regular habits of a matrimonial life? Could he have wantoned on the dazzling bosom of a certain actress, the *dear companion* of his lonely hours, if he were in dread every moment of being disturbed by the intrusive presence of a burdensome thing, yclept a wife? To sacrifice pleasures of this kind belonged not to his nature; and rather than sacrifice them, he allowed his name to descend to posterity, stigmatized with cruelty, injustice, and oppression.

The vanity of the haughty Regent was flattered by the visit of the Russian and Prussian monarchs; and it is well known that they returned to their native countries impressed with the most favourable ideas of the exquisite taste of their accomplished host, in the cut of a coat, or in the selection of French toys and glittering gewgaws. But the Regent was wofully mistaken if he supposed that the visit of the Emperor Alexander arose from personal respect, or from a desire to be in the presence of the most accomplished gentleman of Europe—

he entertained far more important and patriotic views—he was no stranger to the bluntness and confidence of the English character—he knew that he should be allowed to see *all*—and by seeing that all, he knew that he should carry back something to his country which could contribute to the increase and establishment of its power. The Regent of England was not master of that deep policy which was so conspicuous in Gustavus of Sweden, who, on being asked by the Czar to allow him the inspection of his arsenals, sarcastically answered—'It is a department over which I have no control, except in the field of battle.' If the royal sovereigns entered the kingdom, believing in the great popularity of the Regent, they left it with a very contrary impression on their minds. They could not have mistaken the loud expression of the public opinion of the Prince's conduct towards his wife; neither could the Prince himself have been insensible to the distinct marks of disapprobation, that were directed towards his Royal Highness whenever he appeared in public with the illustrious visiters. We have only to refer for the truth of this remark to the deafening discord with which the Prince was received on his way to dine with the Corporation of London at Guildhall, and the contrast must have been very striking to his Imperial Majesty, between the manner in which he was always accustomed to be greeted by his own subjects, and that which the Regent of England received from his. In one point, however, the characters of the Prince Regent and the Autocrat assimilated well together, and that was in their attachment to feminine beauty. The Petrowitchs are all professed libertines, and the intrigues of the palace of Zarskoe Seloe and of Carlton House would form, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary histories which ever appeared in the world of gallantry *.

Before recurring to the main subject of our history, it may not be improper nor useless to premise some observations on the state of the public mind with regard to the Regent, and to

* That most profligate wretch, Constantine, the brother of the late Emperor Alexander, is, in regard to his seduction of female virtue, one of the greatest monsters upon record. The facts established against him, and which were the general topic of conversation during our residence in St. Petersburgh, are so revolting to humanity, that we can only express our surprise that he yet lives to be a scandal to his race.

lay before our readers some of the causes which led to the unpopularity with which he was everywhere accompanied. During the years that had elapsed from the commencement of the regency to the period of which we are now writing, the situation of the King had suffered little variation; his malady was confirmed. Few subjects can be of deeper interest than the contemplation of the venerable monarch in the midst of his unconscious suffering. The mighty events which were daily passing in the world could not affect him, and the glory of the nation, which he loved, came too late for his participation. His family mourned over his affliction, and the nation with reverence and pity bewailed his state of deprivation; but sorrow and sympathy were alike unfelt—joy and sorrow were equally unknown. It was the dispensation of God, and, therefore, it would be irreverent to draw away the veil that hung upon the latter period of his life.

It is the character of the British people to sympathise with suffering, and the King himself undoubtedly became a much greater favourite with the nation, after his lamentable indisposition, than he ever was before; this may, in a great degree, be attributed to sympathy for his mental affliction, for the most violent party man in this country forgets his political animosity, whenever he is called upon to feel as a man ought to feel; but there are other causes which contributed to render the Sovereign popular, which causes could not operate with full force while his political character remained, but which tended, in an inverse direction, to increase the unpopularity of the son. In the first place his excellent domestic character—to which the son possessed no claim at all; in the second place, his possessing so many of the distinguishing British features, particularly his plainness and simplicity, his aversion from parade and show, and his excellent moral habits. He never permitted the fashionable levity or profligacy, which had long been encouraged, or, at least, not checked in the Continental Courts, to approach the British Courts. The contrast of the son was here most striking—the Prince Regent had, in reality, very little of the British character in him, that is, as far as plainness and simplicity extended—his attachments, his pursuits, his enjoyments were all showy, superficial, and luxu-

rious; parade and pageantry were his idols, and he cared not, if, seated on the car of Juggernaut, he trampled over the bodies of his subjects, so that his master passions could be gratified. For these reasons, added to many others, the Prince Regent never enjoyed any degree of popularity; yet no reign of any sovereign, ancient or modern, can display such a continued series of the most splendid actions, which Britain achieved while the Prince of Wales was Regent. And yet not even his most zealous friends, nor his most courtly flatterers, could boast that he was popular; he could go down to the House of Lords to close a session, during which the most signal successes had been obtained—he could pass to the House, and return to his palace—scarcely noticed by the few people who were assembled, who admired the Hanoverian steeds more than they did the Hanoverian Guelph; and many of whom followed his carriage to observe what inroads a life of sensuality and libertinism had made in his outward appearance.

It is at all times difficult to assign the real cause of the popularity or unpopularity of a public person, but in the case of the Prince Regent some circumstances may be pointed out which probably contributed to his want of popularity. In Britain, public feeling is always active and strong—it is the privilege of a Briton to declare his sentiments in a bold and dauntless manner on the conduct of his rulers, and in no country whatever is the popularity of the head of the government so determined by the voice of the people, as in England. Here, all classes consider themselves as forming part of the nation, not only as having an interest in its welfare, but as having a right to declare their sentiments respecting the measures that may affect that welfare. The Prince Regent never showed himself as the friend of the people, and therefore the people were no friends of his. Enshrined within the magnificent splendour of his palaces, he sacrificed his time to subjects which had no reference to the removal of any of the burthens which pressed upon the people, which could ameliorate their condition, or which could heal the wounds, which his own conduct had inflicted on the tranquillity of the country. As a politician, his change of sentiment and conduct operated mainly to alienate the confidence of the people from him: it is not

meant hereby to infer, that he changed from the popular to the unpopular side—but a want of steadiness and consistency will always injure a public character in the opinion of the people of this country; and it may even be contended with considerable plausibility, that the steadiness, or, as it has been often called, the obstinacy of George III. in no slight degree contributed to the interest which the people took in him; for it is scarcely possible not to connect conscientiousness even with obstinacy.

The absence of the real British character in the Prince Regent, as before alluded to, abrogated from him all claim to popularity. He was less identified with the people, than even his haughty progenitor, George I., who brought with him from his Hanoverian dominions, the anti-British idea, that the potentate was everything, the people nothing. In his company and conduct the Prince Regent was a decidedly living paradox: in his selection of the former, he exhibited little or no scrupulousness; the blackleg and the sharper found access to his table, and in some instances to his confidence, even one of the most professed gamblers of the age was his intimate associate. To gain the mother, he exhibited himself as a derelict to every principle of honour and virtue, and poured the sun-beams of his royal favour upon the son, as finished a blackguard as could be found in any of the hells of St. James. And yet this individual held a high official situation about the person of the Regent, must have been daily an eye-witness of the criminal conduct of his mother, but for which he was compensated by the vast sums of money which he won from the Regent at hazard and faro *. If, however, we compare this want of judgment and of common prudence in the choice of his companions with his outward demeanour and conduct, how strong and inexplicable is the contrast. If it could be once imagined that nature, in the formation of an individual, were to invest

* It was computed that during the residence of the allied Sovereigns in this country, when the system of gambling, which was carried on in Carlton Palace exceeded anything ever known in a private mansion, that this individual alone won from Blucher, as confirmed a gambler as himself, the enormous sum of 25,000*l.*, independently of other large sums from other noble pigeons, who flocked to this country in the suite of the Monarchs. It is well known that Blucher left this country in almost a state of destitution, brought on by his lamentable proneness to gambling.

him with one sole ruling passion, and that she were to despatch him upon the earth as the living type of that passion to the Prince Regent of England, she would have said, Go forth, PRIDE; there was in him not only the pride of the Monarch, but the pride of the man; even in his moments of condescension, when he attempted to throw off the king and sink into the man, ever and anon glimmered forth some sparklings of the ruling passion, which threw a reserve and a coldness over his society, and which are utterly at variance with genuine mirth and hilarity.

His difference and separation from the Princess of Wales also contributed to lessen his popularity; yet after all these points are duly and impartially considered, it must be deemed an extraordinary circumstance, that a Prince, whose reign was certainly distinguished by some of the most splendid achievements in the annals of the country, should have failed to attract the favour of his subjects. That failure, however, must be looked for more in regard to his personal than to his political character; the former was odious and repugnant to the people, the latter they either did not, or would not study.

In his own estimation, the Prince Regent was one of the noblest, grandest of Heaven's Vicegerents, and, as such, he generally supported those men who encouraged him in that opinion; the last years of his reign present a melancholy proof of that disposition, and of the distresses which have been brought upon the people by the measures of those men. Ever since the days of the Commonwealth, political men in England have been considered as belonging to one or the other of two parties. One of these regards the Sovereign as the immediate Vicegerent of God—the sacred depository of all power and all right; and as such, with the advice of those churchmen and laymen whom he sets up, the arbiter of all questions, and the disposer of all property. Esteeming kingly government as the immediate gift of Heaven, and a gift more to be valued than that of wisdom to the head, feeling to the heart, or strength to the arm of ordinary men—they have interwoven it with every rite of religion, and placed it all but foremost in those prayers which every man is supposed and expected to offer up to his Creator. No monarch of Eng-

land ever possessed a better claim to the support and countenance of such men than George IV. Rigidly monarchical in his principles, and which would have degenerated into absolute despotism, but for the happy restraint of those laws which confined it within its proper limits, he seemed to forget that the people had any political rights, or if they were in possession of any, that they were to be sacrificed whenever they came into opposition with his Heaven Vicegerency. On the other hand, the other party considered, or were supposed to consider, that kingly government was a mere civil institution, adopted by the people at their pleasure, maintained by a contract which was mutual and changeable, when the terms of that contract were infringed. It was in the principles of these men that the Prince of Wales was educated; Fox had endeavoured to instil into his mind that the crown was held for the benefit of the people; the Prince reversed the axiom, and acted as if it were held for his own. Burke had told him, that an hereditary monarchy could only be perpetuated by a due observance of the laws by the sovereign, and that an infraction of those laws restored to the people, as in the instance of his own family, the right to choose another sovereign, and to dethrone the preceding one. The archbishops and the bishops had inflated him with the idea that his right was from Heaven, and therefore could not be from the people. He turned his back upon Fox—turned a deaf ear to Burke—and hugged the mitred fraternity to his breast, as his best, his dearest counsellors.

It is a circumstance, not undeserving of consideration in the eye of the politician, that during the greater part of the reign of George III., and almost the whole of the reign of George IV., the Tories have, somehow or other, been the confident ministers of the King, and as such the immediate dispensers of those honours and emoluments which are in the gift of the crown; while, on the other hand, the Whigs have, during the same time, formed the opposition in Parliament, and have thus been the opposers of every tax, and the instruments of complaint against every grievance. Thus the Tories have been identified with taxation, profuse expenditure, invasion of rights, and all the other political ills of which,

during the long period alluded to, the English people have complained, or have had cause to complain; while, on the other hand, the Whigs have been identified with the people, and regarded as their self-denying friends and indefatigable advocates.

It is no easy task to give a correct and full portraiture of the character of the Prince of Wales; the outlines may be easily traced, but the *fillings up* require such a heterogeneous mixture of substance and colour, that it approaches nearer to a harlequinade, or, more correctly speaking, to a positive caricature, than to anything naturally human. He was great and little,—noble and mean,—generous and selfish; there was no consistency of virtue, no steadiness of morality, all was the ebullition of the predominant passion for the time, or of the deep-rooted and inveterate antipathies of his dispositions. The Prince of Wales was great in trifles; little in things of vital import: in this feature of his character, but alas! how different in others, he might have been compared to the great exile of St. Helena, of whom his biographer thus speaks, 'Observe the foresight with which he disposes of the most trivial things which have touched his sacred person:—"Marchand will charge himself with transmitting to my son, six shirts, six cravats, four black neck-stocks, two dressing-gowns, two pair of night trousers, one pair of braces, six flannel under-waistcoats, and four pair of drawers."' This august Monarch, who dictated these memorable and important words, had visited the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, and of the four Kings at Cologne: in the former he had seen a *chemise* of the Virgin Mary, and the swaddling clothes of the infant Jesus; and in the latter, four staves of the ladder which Jacob saw in his dream, with the marks of the angels' toe-nails indented therein. These were quite enough to persuade him that posterity would quarrel for his relics, and therefore he ordered the preservation of four pair of drawers for each quarter of the world. Monarchs, however, and the things of Monarchs, are not to be treated with ridicule; but we trust we shall not be accused of impertinence if we ask the Marchioness of Conyngham, whether she has not certain articles of dress in her possession belonging to our late illus-

trious Monarch, which are shown as dear and valued relics of the apparel which touched *his* sacred person? Vanity is the food of fools, and, perhaps, in no court was that food dealt out with greater profusion, than in the court of Carlton House, its territories and dependencies.

To return to the immediate subject of our history. On the 29th of May, the Princess of Wales transmitted a letter to the Prince Regent, in which she explained her reasons for determining not to appear at the drawing-room, and expostulated with the resolution which he had taken of never meeting her upon any occasion, either in public or private. She demanded of his Royal Highness, what circumstances could justify the proceeding he had thought fit to adopt? She reminded the Prince that, after the open persecution and mysterious inquiries upon undefined charges, she had been restored by the King to the full enjoyment of her rank at his court, upon her complete acquittal. Since his Majesty's illness, she had demanded to be proved guilty, or treated as innocent. 'I have been declared innocent,' said she; 'I will not submit to be treated as guilty.' She then observed that his Royal Highness might probably refuse to read the letter; but the world, she said, must know that she had written it, and they would see her real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the right of her rank. Occasion, however, might arise when she must appear in public, and his Royal Highness must be present. His Royal Highness forgot the approaching marriage of their daughter, and the possibility of their coronation. The time selected for her seclusion from court, she said, made it more peculiarly galling: many illustrious strangers had already arrived in England, amongst whom was the heir to the House of Orange, who had announced himself to her as her future son-in-law; and from their society she was unjustly excluded. Other strangers were expected, and her daughter was to appear for the first time in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of the empire. This season, she said, had been chosen by his Royal Highness for treating her with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and that she, of all his Majesty's subjects,

was alone to be prevented from appearing in her place to partake of the general joy, and of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but her.

This expostulation having been found useless, her Royal Highness determined to appeal to Parliament. She therefore wrote a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, inclosing copies of the correspondence with the Queen, and the letter to the Regent. These papers were, on the 3rd of June, read to the House; and as Mr. Methuen was rising to propose a motion on the subject, Mr. Lygon moved the standing order of the House for the exclusion of strangers, which was immediately enforced. The substance, however, of what passed very soon transpired.

Mr. Methuen prefaced his motion by an able and powerful speech. He moved that a humble address should be presented to the Prince Regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to inform the House by whose advice his Royal Highness was induced to form the fixed and unalterable determination never to meet her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, upon any occasion, either in public or private.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Bathurst, on the ground that the case was one of mere court etiquette, and that the House could not interfere without mischief to all parties concerned.

Mr. Whitbread upon this, as upon all other occasions when the interests of the Princess of Wales were involved (to whom she was always much attached, and at whose death, the next year, she was greatly affected), espoused her cause with great zeal and energy.

'As to stirring the question, I ask, who has stirred it? Is it the person who vindicates her own innocence from unjust and foul aspersions? Has she complained that her near relations have been prevented from visiting her; that it has been intimated to all, that to visit her was to exclude them from the court? To all the injuries which she has patiently borne, she has submitted in silence. Where does the burden rest of agitating this question? Upon those who have planned and advised this foul indignity. The Right Honourable Gentleman talked of this as being an exclusion from a common assembly.

Is it then nothing, that her nephews—that her future son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, who had announced himself to her as such—her near relations, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the immortal Blucher, the companion of her father in arms—is it nothing that they should remark the absence of the Princess of Wales, and be told that it is for reasons undefined, and of which the Regent alone can be the judge? Under the circumstances of her situation, such infliction is worse than loss of life; it is loss of reputation—injurious to her character—fatal to her fame. No man now dares to say that she is guilty. Now, as to an event which, sooner or later, must happen—he meant the demise of the crown—is the Princess of Wales to be crowned? She must be crowned. Who doubts it? It is whispered abroad that a coronation is not necessary. He believed it was. Will the Right Honourable Gentleman say it is not? He dare not say so. Crowned she must be, *unless there be some dark, base plot at work—some black act yet to do; unless the Parliament consent hereafter to be made a party to some nefarious transaction.*'

Mr. Tierney said, that he trusted, before the next drawing-room, that some sound advisers would find their way to his Royal Highness, and induce him to withdraw the prohibition; if not, he should think it a disgrace to the House of Commons to separate without doing something. Some steps, he said, must soon be taken to conciliate, and not to make the existence of these two parties an eyesore to the public.

The motion, however, of Mr. Methuen was withdrawn, with an understanding that he should bring it forward again in a more eligible shape, if the necessity of the case should unhappily compel the interference of Parliament.

The hypothetical prophecy of Mr. Whitbread was, it is to be lamented, afterwards fulfilled to the very letter.

It must be observed that, on the 2nd of June, the day previous to the debate just referred to in the House of Commons, the Queen held a drawing-room at Buckingham Palace, at which the Prince Regent and a great number of the nobility and gentry were present. It was the first appearance of the Princess Charlotte, and it was observed that the Duchess of Oldenburg appeared to single her out as the peculiar object

of her attentions. The Prince of Orange was also present, and at the close of the drawing-room he handed the Princess Charlotte to her carriage.

When we refer to the character of the individual who, as a minister, at this time took the lead in the House of Commons (we allude to Lord Castlereagh), our surprise then ceases at the repugnance which Parliament evinced to step in as a mediator between the Prince and Princess of Wales, or at its objection to entertain any motion which might lead to a reconciliation of their differences. His mean and ungenerous attempt to stifle her clamours by an addition of 15,000*l.* a year to her income, only showed the nation that the cause which he had undertaken was a rotten one, and that his attempt to bolster it up with a bribe only exposed the shifts to which he was driven to extricate his royal master from the dilemma in which his unjust and cruel conduct had involved him. We cannot refuse to Castlereagh some strong pretensions to the character of a politician, but, abstractedly speaking, that, in our eyes, is no very great recommendation; for the histories of those who have been distinguished as the greatest politicians in Europe, degrade human nature to a degree that is disgustful: they appear to have been men hardened by the commission of the blackest crimes, so as to be familiar with perfidy, assassination, poison, perversion of the laws, and every vice that belongs to the character of the most detestable villains. The pretended knowledge of the world, in the political hemisphere, consists in this short comprehensive maxim—that all men are rascals.

> We know they 're so in France, in Spain, and Rome;
> God knows if we have better folks at home.

A politician would feel himself degraded if we should attribute to him such vulgar principles as honour and probity: he will allow that they are necessary on certain occasions, but that civil and political morals are different things; that, in the wide range of political wisdom, morality must give way; preserving, however, the appearance of it, if it may be, which he thinks preferable to the thing itself, as it shows his powers of deception, which he considers as his most flattering point of

view. It may not be wholly extravagant to make an observation here—that generally a court, which naturally ought to be the sanctuary of virtue and truth, should prove itself the soil where the arts of deception flourish most, and are brought to the highest state of perfection.

The contemporaries of Castlereagh universally admit, that few politicians brought more sophistry into their arguments than he displayed on every occasion where it was necessary to gloss over the real truth, and to give a different aspect to the affair than it really possessed. The sentiments contained in the following speech will corroborate the truth of the assertion.

The Princess of Wales still continuing to be treated with the same indignity, by being excluded from the court, and as no notice had been taken of her during the visit of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and other distinguished foreigners, on the day after their departure, the 23rd of June, Mr. Methuen again called the attention of the House of Commons to this important subject. In justification, however, of the conduct of the allied Sovereigns, it must be stated, that both the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia expressed their willingness to visit the Princess of Wales, but were restrained only by the information, that their noticing her Royal Highness would be personally offensive to the Regent. The part which the allied Sovereigns had to act was one of peculiar delicacy. Their sense of justice and of the respect which was due to an illustrious female, and on the one side a very near relative, prompted them to bestow those attentions upon her which her birth and rank demanded;—they had nothing to do with the private differences of the respective parties, and therefore it would have been a very easy task for them so to have steered a middle course, on the broad principle of the most decided impartiality, as to give offence to neither party; but it appears that the Prince Regent dreaded the presence of any one who had been previously in the company of her Royal Highness, and this dread naturally arose from the consciousness, that his own conduct could not bear an impartial scrutiny, and that the inhumanity of her treatment would exhibit itself in blacker colours the more it was sifted and examined. It is true that Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons declared, that no restrictions

had been placed upon the allied Sovereigns respecting their visits to her Royal Highness; but Mr. Whitbread told him that the impression upon the public mind was very different, and that he had good and substantial grounds for believing that his Lordship had been misinformed.

Mr. Methuen, in his place in the House of Commons, after repeating the declaration that the Prince would never meet the Princess again either in public or in private, observed, that it was in every way proper that her Royal Highness should be enabled to support the dignity of her situation, as reconciliation seemed utterly hopeless.

Lord Castlereagh, in reply, observed (and the public were thereby made acquainted with a fact that had never before transpired) that, however much the circumstances of the differences of the royal parties were to be deplored, it was, however, a fact that a final separation had taken place between them. In 1809 a formal deed of separation had been executed, which had the signatures not only of the immediate parties, but of the King and his cabinet ministers. The Princess then declared her entire satisfaction with the provision made for her; but if, on account of the increased expenses of the times, a larger provision was required, he believed there would be no objection to such a parliamentary measure. His Lordship also said, notwithstanding all the calumnious reports abroad, he was perfectly convinced that his Royal Highness harboured no feelings of a vindictive nature, and had no wish to disturb her Royal Highness in the enjoyment of her social feelings.

Nothing but the most unblushing effrontery could have instigated Lord Castlereagh to make the latter statement in the face of the representatives of the nation. If the Prince Regent were not actuated by any feelings of a vindictive nature, by what feelings, then, was he really actuated? Actions are the decided criteria of feelings; and when a general review is taken of the actions of the Prince Regent towards the Princess, to what passion, or to what motive, are they to be attributed? If Lord Castlereagh had been catechized as to the express meaning which he attached to the epithet 'vindictive,' the sophistry of his statement would at once have been disclosed.

It is very probable that the Prince Regent did not entertain any vindictive feelings, taking the epithet in its legitimate sense, for there was no existing cause for any such feelings. What had he to revenge? He had received no injury from the Princess; the charges of guilt against her had been fully and satisfactorily refuted; there was no part of her conduct of which he had to complain, with the exception of perhaps her resolution to give publicity to certain transactions which it was his desire and interest should be held secret, but to which resolution she was goaded by the wrongs under which she was suffering, and by the natural right which is invested in every one of demanding a restitution of those privileges, and a restoration to those immunities, which have been withheld under an assumption of guilt, and which ought to be restored immediately that such guilt is disproved. If vindictive feelings existed anywhere, and where every apology would have been made for them, it was in the breast of the Princess that they would have been found; she had wrongs—deep, unmerited wrongs to revenge; but no such feelings were displayed—she almost crouched at the feet of her enemy, sueing, as the humblest petitioner, for her restoration to that society and to those enjoyments from which she was cruelly and unjustly debarred. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the House of Commons should have been selected as the place to mislead the public mind on a subject, which excited the most intense anxiety through all classes of the people—which eventually alienated their affections from their Sovereign, and drove the country to the verge of an open rebellion.

On the 4th of July the House of Commons went into a committee on the papers laid on the table respecting the Princess of Wales. Lord Castlereagh proposed that a net income of 50,000*l.* per annum should be granted to her Royal Highness, which proposition was agreed to; but Mr. Whitbread observed that the Princess had never authorized any one to make any proposition on the subject of increasing her allowance. He had asked for protection, for mercy, for justice from the House for the Princess of Wales, but never for money, nor had it ever been contemplated by her friends. Whatever she accepted, it must be understood that she gave up nothing of rank, of dig-

nity, and of character, which, by the grant of this separate and ample—too ample allowance, it was evident she held in the eyes of the nation.

On the following day the Princess of Wales wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons, desiring that he would express to the House her sincere thanks for this extraordinary, unsolicited mark of its munificence; but she could not consent to any addition to their burdens beyond what her actual situation might appear to require. She hoped, therefore, the House would pass a resolution for the purpose of limiting her income to 35,000*l.*, which would be quite sufficient, and which she would accept with the liveliest gratitude as an unequivocal proof that she had received the good opinion and protection of the House of Commons.

On the 8th this letter was taken into consideration, and the 35,000*l.* instead of 50,000*l.* was voted.

At no period of her life was the popularity of the Princess greater than it was at this time, for her conduct formed a striking contrast with that of the members of our own royal family, and particularly of the Regent himself. Some rumours were afloat, and in a short time were found to be well grounded, that debts of a very large amount had been very recently contracted; and although the precepts of economy had been instilled into him by the legislature of the country, and he had promised obedience to them, yet he had no sooner obtained his point than he returned to his former excesses, and to a lavish system of expenditure, which his finances, ample and affluent as they were, could not support. Disgrace, which has in general a salutary influence on the actions of man, appeared to have lost all power over those of the Prince Regent;—he was no sooner bleached of one disgrace than he fell into another of a still deeper nature; his habitual contraction of debt, which in a member of the lower grades of society would have been stigmatized as a gross and culpable departure from the acknowledged principles of probity and integrity, appeared in a certain degree to belong so to his nature as to have become one of those habits which he could not shake off, and into which he fell, as it were, involuntarily whenever the opportunity presented itself. It must, however, be taken into consideration, that about this

time he had fixed his unalterable affections on a certain Marchioness, and the usual preliminaries were to be gone through before the citadel could be brought to surrender. The first approaches were made by the irresistible power of diamond necklaces*, succeeded by miniatures, and other invaluable mementos of his royal person, typical of the constancy of his affections. The following anecdote will however show, that in *one* instance, at least, his love was not held in very high estimation. His High Lord Chamberlain had at this time an elegant female under his protection, of the name of Menzies, who sank by degrees till she became the lounger of the lobbies of the theatres—the midnight walker of the streets, and finished her career of vice and dissipation in a hospital. In the zenith of her beauty (for in form and symmetry she was the *beau idéal* of the artist) her box at the Opera House was the resort of all the young nobility; and we could now point to some sexagenarian libertines who moved round her like the satellites of a planet, but whom she repulsed with all the indignity of the most frigid matron. To this lady the Prince of Wales sent his portrait, at the back of which was inscribed, in pearls, *L'amour est le charme de la vie.* The portrait was returned with the inscription effaced, and the following one substituted, *L'amour d'un Prince ne vaut pas grande chose.*

The residence of the Princess of Wales in this country was now drawing fast to a close. Deprived of all intercourse with her daughter, she saw that she was the means of greatly disturbing her happiness; and the imputation was openly made, that the Princess Charlotte was induced by her mother to break off her intended union with the Prince of Orange. This, however, we are enabled positively to contradict; for the rumour was circulated by the agents of the Prince, in order to throw the blame of the rupture on the Princess of Wales, and thereby injure her in the estimation of the people, who considered the union with the House of Nassau as the most eligible which

* We believe that we are below the truth, when we affirm that the Prince of Wales squandered above half a million of the people's money in presents upon his courtezans. The major part of the diamonds which were remitted by De Beaume from Paris, became the property of three of his most favoured ladies, and some portion of which afterwards, by some means, fell into the possession of a pawnbroker in Wardour-street, Soho.

could be entered into for the general interests of the nation. The dislike which the Princess of Wales had imbibed for the Prince of Orange was entirely of a personal nature; she considered herself insulted by him; he had offered her a personal affront in refusing to visit her; and it was natural that the Princess Charlotte should resent any insult that was offered to her mother: it cannot, however, be doubted that this feeling on the part of the Princess Charlotte may have contributed to increase and confirm any repugnance to the union; but that it was the primary cause of the rupture, cannot for a moment be entertained.

Matters were drawing to a crisis; the storm was gathering fast, and heavy it fell on the heads devoted to its fury. The Princess Charlotte, by her kindness and affable manner, had obtained an ascendency over her establishment at Warwick House, so that the Prince Regent or his advisers were not able to prevent some kind of communication between the Princess of Wales and her daughter; and notwithstanding the severe prohibition, the Princess of Wales went once to Warwick House, a short time previously to the final rejection of the Prince of Orange. This circumstance was, however, made known to the Prince of Wales; and on the 12th of July he made his sudden appearance at Warwick House, and informed the young Princess that she must immediately take up her residence at Carlton House, and thence go to Cranbourn Lodge; and that five ladies whom he named, amongst whom were the Countess of Ilchester and the Countess Dowager of Rosslyn, were in an adjoining room in readiness to wait upon her. The Princess made many expostulations, and some very spirited remonstrances; but the Prince remaining firm, she appeared to acquiesce in his determination, and only asked permission to retire for a few minutes to compose herself before she was introduced to the ladies. The request was granted; and whilst the Prince was engaged in a close conversation with Miss Knight, a lady of the Princess Charlotte's household, in an agony of despair she privately left Warwick House, and throwing herself into a hackney-coach in Cockspur-street, gave the coachman a guinea to drive her to Connaught House, the residence of her mother. There she found that the

Princess was at Blackheath, and she despatched a servant to meet her. The surprise of the Prince Regent, on finding that his daughter had escaped, exceeded all bounds—his anger rose to the highest pitch, and the confusion at Warwick House was beyond description; for the flight of the young Princess in a fit of passion was the only fact of which anybody was certain, but whither she had gone, and what was the object of her flight, were merely matters of painful surprise. At length, the probability of her having repaired to Connaught House was suggested; and the old, infirm Archbishop of Canterbury was despatched to bring back the young fugitive. Sicard, however, an old servant of the Princess, bolted the hall-door against the prelate, who returned to Warwick House to relate the failure of his mission. The Duke of York was next despatched to bring back the fair runaway *vi et armis*. A very spirited scene took place, in which the juvenile militant would have triumphed over the Field-Marshal of England, and have sent him back with the same kind of deathless laurels as he had reaped at Dunkirk, had not Mr. Brougham, who had been sent for by the Princess of Wales, informed the Princess Charlotte that, by the laws of the land, she must obey her father's commands.

This affair of the Princess Charlotte excited considerable anxiety throughout the nation. It was reported that she was actually placed in a state of *duresse;* and so strong did this opinion take hold of the public mind, that the Duke of Sussex took up the matter, and wrote the following letter to Lord Liverpool, which has never yet been presented to the public eye, and of which we have been exclusively favoured with a copy.

'*Kensington Palace, July* 17, 1814.

'My Lord,

'I conceive it my duty, in the character of a Peer and Privy Councillor, to address myself directly to your Lordship, who are at the head of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's confidential servants, considering that a representation of so serious a nature as the following, however painful on my part to make, will be forwarded with more delicacy by you, than if I were to submit it in person to his Royal Highness; while, at the same time, it becomes more official.

'The recent occurrences which have taken place, with respect to her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales, are too well known to your Lordship and me to admit of a denial for a moment.

'The anxiety created by them in the public mind, and the uneasiness they produce in my own, from a warm and truly disinterested attachment to her person, will remove any surprise on your Lordship's part at my expressing to you my sentiments and feelings on this important subject.

'Weighty indeed must every topic be, in which the welfare and tranquillity of the country at large are concerned; and no one, in my opinion, can be more serious than the situation of the Princess Charlotte of Wales; for the question cannot be quieted by stating it as a mere private family concern, upon which parental feelings alone are to be consulted.

'The peculiar position of her Royal Highness makes it necessary for her to be considered the child of England; this, under every circumstance, would be the case. She is so deemed in law at all times; but it is a consideration more particularly important now, from the unfortunate state in which the royal family find themselves placed at the present moment.

'Viewed consequently in this light, no step can be taken relative to the Princess Charlotte, without the advice and recommendation of the servants of the crown, who, of necessity, must be considered as responsible for the same. Various reports of a most distressing nature, extremely injurious to the royal family in general, and more particularly unfavourable to some of the illustrious individuals, are in circulation, relative to this unhappy event (which, with all human ingenuity, it is impossible to represent but as a mere impulse of a momentary passion); and the complete seclusion of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales from the public eye has considerably added to the agitation.

'As for myself, independent of the ties of blood, I feel peculiarly anxious on this occasion: first, from a fervent devotion to the welfare of my country; and, secondly, from having concurred with others in persuading her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales to return home (which, if resisted in the first instance, would have been a difficult point to force). I consider myself in a great measure responsible to the nation, as well as to her Royal Highness, should any measures of violence and rigour have been adopted towards her person since she has taken up her abode at Carlton House, and of which no information has been received to remove these fears, except by newspapers, that are only calculated to mis-

lead the public, and to increase the reasonable suspicion of the close confinement, to which is now added a report of her speedy removal from the metropolis.

'It is well known, my Lord, that the physicians have, under their hands, strongly recommended sea-bathing to her Royal Highness; and I believe I may assert, that they consider ease of mind as necessary to her recovery. If she were not to go to the sea-side, and were to continue distressed in spirits, melancholy indeed would be the reflection, that the health of this illustrious personage, in whose welfare the country is so deeply interested, should be neglected or impaired for the sake of carrying into effect measures which can only have been advised and recommended by the cabinet.

'It is with this view, and for the sake of tranquillizing my anxiety and fears on the subject, that I request, through your Lordship, to be permitted to see her Royal Highness, in order that I may be convinced that no severe confinement or harsh treatment has been used towards the Princess Charlotte: in case of a refusal, or on receiving an unsatisfactory answer, I do not conceal from your Lordship, that to-morrow or Tuesday next it is my intention to give notice of a motion in the House of Lords, to inquire into this subject, when of course preceding events, connected with the breaking off of the marriage of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales with the hereditary Prince of Orange, will come under consideration, and form a part of the statement, which I conceive necessary for my own satisfaction, and in which the characters of all parties are so deeply concerned.

'I am,

'My Lord, with consideration,

'Your Lordship's, &c.

'*To Lord Liverpool.*' 'A. F.'

'P. S. I beg your Lordship completely to understand that I take up this business independent of all party; and for which reason I have not and shall not communicate with any one except for legal opinion.'

No satisfactory notice of this letter being taken, on the 19th of July his Royal Highness put several questions to the ministers in the House of Lords, relative to the liberty of the Princess Charlotte, but no answer was returned. The Duke then gave notice of a motion on the subject, for the following day; but being informed that more lenient measures were about

to be observed towards her, the Duke declined pressing his motion.

Shortly after the singular, and, we may add, romantic escape of the Princess Charlotte from Warwick House, a report was in general circulation that the Princess of Wales had determined to leave this country, and to retire to the continent, where her future abode was to be fixed. The truth of the report obtained confirmation by a discussion which took place in the House of Commons on the 30th of July, when it appeared that her Royal Highness had given notice to his Majesty's ministers, that she intended to visit the continent; and Lord Castlereagh, by whom this information was communicated, added that he was persuaded the House, in voting the addition to the income of her Royal Highness, had no design of imprisoning her in this country, or of preventing her from residing wherever she preferred.

Mr. Tierney said, he was sure, in the recent grant, the House had never contemplated the departure of her Royal Highness from this country. The step she was about to take was against the direct advice of Mr. Whitbread, and of every one who had the interests of the Princess of Wales at heart. Mr. Canning, however, strongly approved of the measure; and on the 9th of August, 1814, she sailed from Lancing, near Worthing, and landed at Hamburg on the 16th.

We may be allowed to make a few remarks on this voluntary expatriation of the future Queen of England—a step regarded by the people with the highest spirit of indignation towards those who had compelled her to it, and who now began as if to breathe afresh from the load with which they had hitherto been encumbered. History will treasure up the facts of this extraordinary proceeding, as of the highest moment in the annals of the country. It must, however, be admitted that the character of the Princess of Wales was never properly understood in this country. As to the charges of general levity and flippancy of conduct, distinct from the main allegation of adultery, it must be conceded, even by her friends, that she possessed, in too great a degree, the familiarity of the French and the peculiarity of the Italian character. Her conduct was frequently inexplicable, though perfectly virtuous.

Prudence was a word with which she was not sufficiently familiar; and her virtues were splendid and public, not retired and unassuming. Her friendships were, if possible, too ardent, and her antipathies too inveterate. But she was generous, noble-minded, honourable, just, and forgiving. She was all kindness and sensibility; but she was so unaccustomed to sincerity and constancy, that when she discovered these virtues in an individual, she valued them, if possible, too highly. Alas! she was too much the child of circumstances; and it is a lamentable fact that she was the child of sorrow. If she were imprudent in any of her domestic arrangements, it should not be forgotten that, at the age of twenty-eight, she was practically a widow. Nor did the Queen-consort of George III. endeavour to relieve the misery of her situation by her advice or direction. Almost unaided, she had originally to form her establishment, her society, her habits; and she was, after all, a foreigner to English manners and English prejudices.

As, however, she had quitted the country—had left the Prince her husband to enjoy, unmolested by her presence, the favours of the houris of his harem, the adulation of his friends, and all the luxuries of English hospitality and English comfort; and as the moral and political conduct of the Prince, whether of a more public or private nature, was now by her wholly uninquired about—it was improper, unjust, and cruel of any administration to advise inquiries to be instituted into all the minutiæ of her continental arrangements; and it was base and wicked to invent charges, or to employ agents who were thus capable of sacrificing every honest and virtuous principle. It may be justly said, that time, place, and circumstance united, with terrible accuracy, to accelerate the last acts of this eventful drama. The tale throughout is full of the deepest interest. A wife born in a foreign country, generous and confiding as her manners were simple and frank, joins the coterie of a court, previously inclined to dispute her sway, and who had already intercepted, or desired to do, the favours of her husband. One intrigue succeeded another with fearful rapidity; and at last, unable to bear the insults and persecutions to which she was exposed, she quitted the kingdom of

her husband for an honourable exile. But watched, incensed, and betrayed at every step by the creatures of his malignity, she flies the presence of a people already inclined to protect and defend her. Hired and venal wretches accompany her flight, and in the end compel her to return to England to vindicate her character. For a wife so treated, so maligned, and so abused, it would have been but poetical justice to punish the crowd of her accusers; yet, though it might have justified the moral of the catastrophe, it could not expiate the enormity of the offence. But the close of the drama would hardly have satisfied the cruel intentions of the author. The acquittal of the Queen afforded room neither for further slander nor open defiance. But that which the law could not effect—which the array of justice could not intimidate, nor power persuade her to abandon—was brought about, as is frequently the case in human affairs, by a comparatively trifling and insignificant incident.

It has been admitted that there was no real *state necessity* for the inquiries which were instituted into the conduct of the Princess of Wales. The succession was not in danger; the brothers of the Regent were numerous, although none of them appeared to have any inclination for the married state, until after the death of the Princess Charlotte, when the whole fraternity ransacked the German courts, and returned to this country, conferring an additional blessing on it, present and prospective, by the almost certain perpetuation of the Brunswick line. The Princess of Wales being on the continent, she could be considered in no other light than as an alien; she was practically divorced from her husband; and although, if she did commit crimes, justice and virtue would have demanded her punishment, yet, as the favourite ladies of the court of the Regent were well known, and even their names unconcealed, it was not delicate nor proper that punctilios should have been too nicely regarded by the one party, when, if the same rigid principles had been applied to the case of the other, the result would have been far less satisfactory.

Her non-introduction to the foreign Emperors who visited this country was a petty act, unworthy of any wise or good man. It was identifying them in quarrels of entirely a personal

nature; and, in her subsequent travels on the continent, it was found to be attended with most mortifying results to her, as she was refused admittance at several of the European courts where otherwise she would have been received with all the honours due to her rank. In Germany, in particular, the country in the defence of the liberties of which her brother had died, and on the plains of which her father had braved the storm which threatened to involve the liberties of Europe, —in that very country, the avenues to its stiff and formal courts were closed against her, and she left her natal soil to be a wanderer amongst Arabs and Mahometans.

Under the peculiar circumstances in which she was placed, it must be acknowledged that she should have conducted herself with peculiar circumspection, and have endeavoured to avoid even the appearance of evil. That she indulged in vices of the most immoral description has been falsely and incorrectly stated; yet it must be admitted that, if she had duly and properly estimated the probable effects which many acts which she performed were likely to produce, she would have abstained from their commission, and thus, to a certain extent, prevented evils which embittered her future life, and speedily consigned her to the tomb.

The departure of the Princess of Wales from this country put an end, for a time, to all discussion on the royal differences. The junta of Carlton House gave the huzza of triumph; mirth and jollity resounded in its halls; the Regent looked proudly around him amidst his blaze of beauty, and in the intoxication of love and wine flew his social hours away.

In a political view, never did king or potentate appear in a more exalted state than the Prince Regent of these realms at the close of the year 1814. A treaty had been signed with America, and both hemispheres were once more united in the bonds of peace. This epoch in the annals of Great Britain concludes the fifth year of the regency; and how enviable among the nations must have been the station of that Prince, who, having wielded with restricted power the energies of this great empire for so short a period, had, by the support of a patriotic people, been enabled to quell domestic faction, to disappoint the malignity of political prophecy, to raise a spirit

in Europe which had crushed the hydra of usurping power, directed by the most intolerable ambition, and the most extraordinary talents, to enforce justice, to restore right, to extend mercy, and finally to establish universal peace. Political benefits of this kind were well calculated to raise a prince to the highest degree of popularity; and yet inconsistent and paradoxical as it may appear, the scale of the popularity of the Prince seemed to decline, in proportion as the successes and triumphs of the country ascended. This was an enigma which few could solve; it appeared to be like some problem of Euclid, of which it is difficult to find the base, and, consequently, every part of the superstructure becomes dubious and untrue. The philosopher, the politician, and the moralist measured the cause each by his own peculiar scale; each arrived at a different result, and each found himself ultimately wrong in his conclusions. There appeared to be some deep, ineffaceable impression of former wrongs rankling in the minds of the people, and which seemed to act as a repellent to the reception of any favourable or conciliatory opinion. The cause of this feeling may, in a great degree, be traced to the anti-nationality of his character; to his systematic absence of all identity with the people, and a devotion to pursuits founded on sensuality, profligacy, and a lavish expenditure of money. Peace, however, had been restored to the country, and the people looked forward to the enjoyment of those blessings which were to result from that event; when, on a sudden, a storm burst forth in a distant quarter, which threatened to involve all Europe again in the horrors of war.

The adjourned session of the British parliament was opened on the 19th February, 1815, while the people were eagerly anticipating the promised blessings of a long-contended-for, late gained, and dearly-purchased peace. On the 6th of April a message from the Regent announced to the great council of the nation the startling intelligence of a terrible reaction within the dominions of the king of France. The unsubdued spirit and the subtle genius of Napoleon Buonaparte had suggested to his daring mind an oversight in the treaty of Paris, and a brilliant course of action founded on that discovery. The Sovereigns of Europe, yielding to what they considered a

childish ambition in the abdicating adventurer, permitted him to retain his imperial title, and to call by the name of sovereignty his destined prison. Deep was the repentance which followed this act of sovereign folly, and this folly of sovereigns. Guarded by a naval force of French and English cruisers, watched by the jealous eyes of every European cabinet, the commanding genius of this extraordinary man contrived and maintained a regular system of correspondence with the adjacent coasts of France and Italy; and availing himself of the advantage of his insular situation, watched his opportunity, till, having lulled to sleep the caution of the fleet of observation which always hovered near, he suddenly appeared in France. Free, an Emperor, at the head of his national troops, he came to make war against the restored dynasty.

Disgusted with the superstitious veneration of the past which the Bourbons had exhibited since their return to power; disappointed in its ambition, and insulted by the evident influence of foreign courts in its administration, France, the romantic and the fickle, received with open arms the heroic and undaunted soldier, who revived the brightest days of the golden age of her chivalry. The moment was enthusiasm. The bigoted Monarch, surrounded by his priests, trembled at the altar—the spark of electric impulse darted with portentous swiftness through the political horizon of France—the flash was seen, bright and vivid as the northern coruscation—the thunder burst on wondering Europe,—the cry of 'Vive l'Empereur' pealed from Grenoble to the capital. Surrounded by treachery and hate, deceived, detested, despised, the illustrious descendant of a long line of kings fled from his newly recovered seat of sovereignty; while the plebeian adventurer rolled on his car of triumph, headed by defiance, to the footstool of the vacant throne. History almost becomes romance in the relation of these unparalleled events, and her sober tone of cold relation swells with her subject into warmer and more lofty language. A daughter of the bigoted House of Bourbon played the heroine in this exciting drama. The blood of Henry IV. boiled in the veins of his legitimate descendant, the Duchess of Angoulême, nor did the most rigorous and religious life devotion could inspire abate its heat. The

Princess, whose austerity might have become the inmate of a cloister, and whose views seemed fixed upon a heavenly throne, gave another bright example of the native energy and innate courage which warm the breast of woman, when inspired by love and duty to the exercise of virtues unlooked for in her sex, but not incompatible with feminine grace and gentleness. While the Princes of her family were pursuing half measures, in one breath threatening the unresisted enemy, and wooing their ill-disposed followers, this exalted lady assembled the officers of the royal army at Bordeaux, addressed them in words of fire, and set them an example of devotedness, enough to have infused a soul into a host of statues bearing the forms of men. But when she found her eloquence disregarded, and her injunctions disobeyed, she cast upon them a look of virtuous indignation, threw to the ground before them the emblem of their treachery, the white cockade, which she had given them as the pledge of loyalty, and with the voice and spirit of her ancestors, exclaimed, 'I see your fears, you are cowards: I absolve you from the oaths you have taken;' then turning her horse, she rode away almost alone, and sought protection beneath the flag of England.

In the mean time the enemies of Buonaparte were not idle; the allies, in Congress at Vienna, bound each other to support the general cause with a complete army of 150,000 men for each of the contracting nations, and not to lay down their arms except by common concurrence, nor to abandon their object until it was effected.

These declarations and treaties, orders and addresses, were but the conditions of the combat. The gathering of troops marked plainly the destined arena, the lists in which so many splendid battles had been fought and won, the tilt-yard of Europe for a thousand years. The Flemish border was destined to become the scene of another tournament, as idle and wicked as the old encounters, but in consequences how much more important! in expense of blood and treasure, how much more profuse! in the weight of its responsibility, what a fearful subject of reflection!

To enter into detail of the memorable battle, would far exceed our limits. Wellington for a second time entered the

French territory, at the head of his victorious army, the friend of France, and the enemy of no one but the usurper, the foe of the human race, with whom neither peace nor truce was sacred. Louis XVIII. confessed to his people, in a proclamation from Cambray, the errors of his first government; he now placed himself between the allies and the nation as a mediator—the only part he had acted in the war. Efforts on the side of the French, for the suspension of hostilities, and afterwards for opposing the progress of the invaders, failed. The allies surrounded Paris; it was evacuated by the French army, by convention, on the 3rd of July, and the conquered city was garrisoned by the troops of England and of Prussia. Russia and Austria hastened to the rendezvous. The deliberative assemblies of the French nation continued to struggle for a show of independence, but were compelled to close their sittings on the 7th of July, and the following day Louis XVIII. entered his capital, amid the hollow welcomes of an overawed and dissatisfied people. The result of the battle of Waterloo inspired the highest degree of enthusiastic triumph, and the gratitude of the nation to her army was shown, not only in rejoicings and honour for the living, but in solemn and grateful memory of the dead. An immense sum was appropriated by parliament to the relief of the sufferers in that dear-bought victory.

Notwithstanding, however, that this country may be said to have reached the zenith of its military renown, and the consequent blessings of a permanent peace were promised to the people, yet the public mind was in a highly feverish state, which subsequently broke out into acts of riot and destruction. The ostensible cause of these disturbances was that never-failing source of discord, the Corn Bill, by which the people were brought to a state of comparative famine*; and unfortunately

* A friend, long resident in Spain, has related an anecdote that will not inaptly illustrate this state of things. When bread was at famine price in Madrid, the people, rendered desperate by distress, denounced the measures of government through the only channel of expression to which they might resort with questionable safety —satire, in its multifarious disguises. Amongst other publications, they distributed a caricature, the substance of which is worth preserving for the sake of its point. It represented an emaciated man, lying on a wretched bed, surrounded by all the attributes of abject want and misery. Above him hung suspended, at a distance too high for him to reach, a loaf of bread; while the starving wretch is made to exclaim, '*¡Si tu no baxas y o me levanto ;*' or as it may be rendered in English, 'If you do not fall, I must rise!'

at this period, the public attention was again drawn to another never-failing source of disquiet to the country, the debts of the Prince of Wales, his unbounded extravagance, and particularly to the mal-appropriation of 100,000*l.* which was voted by parliament as an outfit for the Prince on his assuming the regency. At a time when the people were suffering the most accumulated distresses; when the cry resounded through the metropolis, 'We will die for bread;' who could read the account of the scandalous extravagance carried on by the Prince of Wales, as declared in parliament by Mr. Tierney in referring to the Civil List, without an excess of feeling bordering closely on a spirit of rebellion, and eradicating every principle of loyalty from the breasts of the people? The statement of Mr. Tierney was as follows:

'The charge for furniture for Carlton House alone, during two years and three-quarters, was 160,000*l.*, exclusively of the 100,000*l.* on the motion of Mr. Perceval for an outfit: this made 260,000*l.* Mr. Perceval stated that the extra expense was for plate and other ornamental matters. The upholstery expenses last year were 49,000*l.*; or-molu was charged 2900*l.*, china and glass 12,000*l.* Linen drapery, &c., an enormous sum; the silversmith and the wardrobe occasioned charges to an immense amount; the former no less than 130,000*l.* in three years. The average expense for plate and jewels was 23,000*l.* a year. To whom,' Mr. Tierney asked, 'did that plate belong? He believed that many of the items ought to be charged to the Prince Regent, who had a privy purse of about 70,000*l.* a year. His object was to put the control of the household expenditure in the hands of responsible persons. No man was more willing that the crown should enjoy becoming splendour, but it should be regulated by strict economy. He believed that if the Prince Regent had some honest advisers about him, who should remind him, when ordering articles to such an enormous amount, that he was only running into expenses that would lead to unpleasant discussions, a great deal might be saved. What occasion was there that his Royal Highness should send to the upholsterer, the furniture man, and other such people? No man could suppose that he could occupy his attention with such frivolous objects.'

We well remember the impression which this keen sarcastic remark made upon the House. It was uttered with all the biting severity for which Mr. Tierney was so peculiarly distinguished, for he knew, as also did the majority of the members, that those objects were in reality the identical ones with which the Prince Regent did amuse himself; or, more properly speaking, they were the chief objects of his employment. His morning levees were not attended by men of science and of genius, who could have instilled into his mind some wholesome notions of practical economy; but the tailor, the upholsterer, the jeweller, and the shoemaker, were the regular attendants on a royal Prince's morning recreations. The improvements in their several departments which had been engendered during the night in the royal brain, were distinctly laid down with all the skill of the professor, and which fully entitled him to the character of the patron of the arts. On one of these occasions the following equivoque took place between the Prince and his servant. One morning the servant entered his apartment with the information, '*She* is come, your Royal Highness.' '*She!*' exclaimed the Prince, 'who is *she?*' '*She* is come,' repeated the servant. 'I ask,' replied the Prince in an angry tone, 'who is *she?* where does *she* come from?' 'It is *Shea* the tailor from Bond-street, your Royal Highness.' The Prince smiled, and the *Shea* was admitted immediately into his presence.

In proceeding with his subject, Mr. Tierney denied any wish to interfere with the interior economy of the royal household, or to examine the cooks and turnspits, but he would ask was there equal profusion displayed even in the expenditure of the continental Princes? The House, he said, would not surely sanction that enormous and merciless expenditure which the papers disclosed. While the people felt that they paid liberally for supporting the dignity of the crown, they did expect that it should show something like sympathy for them, in their present burdened state. He concluded by moving, that this committee be empowered to send for and examine Mr. Mash, of the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

It may be easily foreseen that this motion would be met with the most direct opposition from the ministers. A disclosure, at this time, of the shameful extravagance of the Prince

Regent might have been productive of the most serious consequences. The minds of the people were already inflamed, and driven almost to desperation by want; and the knowledge that the ruler of the realm, so far from sympathizing in their fate, was actually adding to their burden by a ruthless expenditure and an extravagance unparalleled, might have lighted up the flame of rebellion, and expelled the House of Brunswick from the throne of England. A rumour had been for some time afloat that the 100,000*l.* voted as an outfit for the Prince, on his assuming the regency, had not been appropriated according to the purpose for which the grant was made; but that it had been actually applied to the payment of debt, and, as such, a fraud had been committed upon Parliament and the country, which required a full and solemn investigation. The aim of Mr. Tierney was to extract some information on this subject; and Lord Castlereagh, in his reply, admitted the rumour to be true, but glossed it over in such a manner as to make it appear that the people would eventually be the gainers by the false appropriation of the money. The general statement of Lord Castlereagh was, however, by no means calculated to appease the irritation of the people, when he attempted to account for the extraordinary expenditure of the Prince's household. The expense, he said, that was incurred by the visits of the sovereigns was 132,000*l.* Deducting this from the excess in the expense of the three quarters, there would be about 90,000*l.* of *extraordinary* expenditure. Of this, there was between 15,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* for the establishment of the Princess Charlotte. There were other charges which reduced the whole excess to 60,000*l.*, which he was prepared to admit was the extraordinary expenditure of these three quarters. He would also admit that, in this department, there was an excess in the whole of three years of from 80,000*l.* to 90,000*l.*!! But his Lordship said, Mr. Tierney aggravated this by adding to it the 100,000*l.* which the Prince Regent received for outfit. But the House should recollect that, while his Royal Highness acted as restricted Regent, he never received anything from Parliament whatever, although additional expense was necessarily entailed upon him. When

unrestricted, that his creditors, as Prince of Wales, might not suffer, he appropriated one half of his income, as Prince of Wales, about 60,000*l.* a year, to their payment. *Neither was the* 100,000*l.*, *granted by way of outfit, applied to the equipment of his Royal Highness*, but applied to the *liquidation of his debt*, by which means the 60,000*l.* a year, devoted to the payment of debt, would be a year and a half sooner at the disposal of the public. Of the 39,000*l.* expended in furniture, it should be recollected that 17,000*l.* was for furnishing what was called the Cottage at Windsor. A great degree of ridicule had been thrown on the name, most unfairly. It might be called a cottage, because it was thatched; but the fact was that, though not a residence for a monarch, *it was a very comfortable one for a family*, and the only one of which the Prince could make use when he visited Windsor. His Lordship concluded by stating that, for the purpose of watching the expenditure of the Civil List, a warrant had recently passed the Privy Seal, directing that estimates of every expenditure should be given to a responsible officer, whose approbation and order should be essential to every tradesman for the payment of his accounts.

A very long debate ensued on the motion of Mr. Tierney; and some opinion may be formed of the temper of the House of Commons on the subject, when it is stated that it was only lost by a majority of 56, in a house composed of 294 members.

The matter, however, did not rest here; for, on the 31st of May, Lord Althorp resumed the subject of the Prince Regent's debts, and described at length the nature of the grant of 100,000*l.* to his Royal Highness, and contended that it could be legally only applied to the outfit, whereas it had been applied to the payment of the Prince of Wales' debts. The noble Lord entered upon the subject of the Prince's debts, adverted to the mode in which the matter had previously been treated by Lord Castlereagh, and said that a delusion had been practised on the House—the money had been obtained for one object, and applied to another. He concluded by moving that a committee be appointed to inquire into the application of 100,000*l.* granted by Parliament to the Prince Regent, to

defray the expenses of assuming the royal authority, and that the said committee have the power to send for and examine papers and persons.

To those who wish to be in possession of a finished specimen of consummate sophistry in a politician's speech, the following statements, as given by Lord Castlereagh, will furnish them with the most ample materials. He felt himself like a fish entangled in a net, when all its struggling and wriggling only thrust it further into the meshes. He floundered away in the mud, hoping thereby to raise such a density and obscurity about him, that no one could discern the real object by which the confusion was occasioned. The noble fish was, however, rather roughly handled. Mr. Tierney seized him by the gills, with all his mud about him; and had it not been for the gross and scandalous corruption which then distinguished the 'collective wisdom' of the nation, the Prince Regent would have received a castigation which would have shown him that that, which would be termed immoral and guilty in a private individual, partakes of the same odium when committed by a prince.

Lord Castlereagh, after adverting to the state of the Civil List in the reign of George II., proceeded to the defence of the appropriation of the 100,000*l.* It was said that no estimate had been given of the application of that sum, which was the object of the present motion. He would answer that, according to the direction of the act, it was applied to the charges incident to his Royal Highness assuming the royal authority; charges considered much greater by the necessary expenses of the year in which his Royal Highness had been restricted Regent, and for which no public provision had been made, but which were defrayed out of his Royal Highness' property, as Prince of Wales. If his Royal Highness, for the security of his property, as Prince of Wales, had sold out everything, or consigned it to trustees, on assuming the reins of government, the public would have had to provide an establishment of horses, carriages, furniture, wine, &c., amounting not to 100,000*l.*, but to several hundred thousand pounds. But of this 100,000*l.*, the sum of 97,000*l.* was applied to *small debts* of his Royal Highness, which, to the amount of 80,000*l.*, had

been *contracted within the year!* The noble Lord concluded by observing that the 50,000*l.* voted for his Royal Highness' debts, had been so applied; and the sum of 100,000*l.* was applied strictly within the intention of the act, to the charges of his Royal Highness' assumption of the sovereign authority.

Mr. Tierney said the real question was whether the 100,000*l.* had been voted in conformity to the act. He was appealed to by the noble Lord, as having been present at a fête given by the Prince when this sum was voted*. He certainly remembered that fête; it was the last time he had been at Carlton House. He had since lost his ticket. But he denied that the Prince was at any increased expense during the year of his restricted regency; and he would ask, was it a decent argument of the noble Lord to suggest that the *Prince of Wales* should sell his wine and furniture to the *Prince Regent?* But would the Prince have a right to sell his property, as suggested by the noble Lord? Had not Carlton House, and everything belonging to it, been made royal property by the parliamentary arrangement for paying his Royal Highness' debts? Mr. Tierney next proceeded to animadvert on the answer of Mr. Grey, secretary to the trustees who had applied this sum, and described it as a deliberate insult to the House. This sum, he contended, was impropriated by act of Parliament; and that impropriation had been violated. If the House shut its eyes to such a violation in a higher quarter, they could no longer visit with merited reprehension the same misconduct in persons of a humbler description. He looked upon it as a silly argument, that horses, carriages, and furniture must have been purchased for the Prince Regent. Did the noble Lord mean to say that his Royal Highness was not provided with those articles before he was called to exercise the royal functions—or that the Prince Regent must purchase them from the Prince of Wales? It was always the wish of every friend to his country that his Royal Highness' debts should be paid, in

* This 100,000*l.* was no sooner received by the Prince than he determined to give a fête upon the occasion, although it must not be supposed that the cause which led to it was openly expressed: but, at a time when the country was actually verging on positive famine, this thoughtless, reckless Prince gives a fête, the cost of which was calculated at 15,000*l.*!! extracted from the very bowels of a starving people.

order that he might assume the reins of government with his royal mind perfectly at ease. But ministers then resented any discovery of the state of his affairs, probably with a view to having a secret which it would be in their power to reveal, and also to atone for their conduct to his Royal Highness in 1795, by their behaviour at a time when he had it in his power to give them places. The present case was certainly one which called for inquiry, and the commissioners ought to be examined as to the mode of the application of the 100,000*l.*, which he believed would be found to be the work of a cabal. If an examination should not take place, the people of England would say that the House was wholly indifferent to the burdens of the people, though each man was made to pay a tenth of his income. In the present state of the country, every man should be convinced that he did not pay one farthing more than was indispensably necessary. All he wanted was a committee, but not like that on the Civil List, most of the members of which had been men in official situations. Should inquiry be refused, suspicion would work on the public mind, and, consequently, do more mischief than any inquiry possibly could do.

Mr. Leach said it was of no consequence whether the sum had been applied in the manner prescribed by Parliament, or to discharge claims that had been sanctioned by Parliament. Now, the application of 50,000*l.* annually, had been sanctioned by Parliament, to liquidate certain debts; and by so much of the grant of 100,000*l.* having been applied in that manner, a saving of 50,000*l.* for one year would take place.

Mr. W. W. Wynne had never heard a speech that was more directly against the privilege of Parliament, and the very substance of the constitution, than that which had been just delivered. The control of that House was over the public money; and it was a high misdemeanour to apply money in any other way than that for which it had been voted by Parliament.

Mr. Ponsonby observed that Parliament knew nothing of the Prince's debts; but even had they been sanctioned by the House, that would be no justification of such conduct as the

present. For himself, he always wished that the House had known of the Prince's debts, and he was sure there could have been but one opinion as to the propriety of discharging them. The question had been termed one of form; but it involved those rights for which our ancestors had fought and bled. When Charles I. could raise no more money illegally, by means of prostitute lawyers and unprincipled judges, he came to Parliament, and said, 'Give me money, and your own commissioners shall manage it.' The control over the public money in the hands of the House of Commons was of the very essence of the British constitution, and the basis of our liberty.

The Solicitor-General contended that the law had not been violated, and that there had been no misapplication to call for a committee, which in other words would be an unmerited censure on his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

Lord Milton gave notice that, in the event of the motion of Lord Althorp being negatived, he should submit the following resolution:—That it appears to this House that 100,000*l.*, granted to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, was made over to commissioners, and applied contrary to Act of Parliament. A division took place on Lord Althorp's motion, when it was negatived by a majority of 120. Lord Milton's proposition was negatived without a division.

On the 5th of June, Mr. Bennett asked Lord Castlereagh whether he had any objection to state the amount of the debts of the Prince Regent. Lord Castlereagh said that, up to the 20th of May, there remained 339,000*l.* undischarged against his Royal Highness!!

Perhaps not a more unseasonable or unpropitious season could have been chosen for the agitation of the Prince's debts. The people were not in a mood to receive any fresh instances of his extravagance; and the flimsy arguments which were used by ministers to palliate the appropriation of the 100,000*l.* only tended further to exasperate the public mind, and to diminish the people's attachment to royalty. This feeling was particularly distinguishable when, in a short time afterwards, the Duke of Cumberland applied for an addition of 6000*l.* to his income, in consequence of his marriage with the Princess

of Salm. The House of Commons refused it, after some very severe and pointed remarks by several members on the conduct of some of the branches of the royal family.

The marriage of the Duke of Cumberland, the most unpopular of all the British princes, was regarded by the people of this country with feelings of the most perfect indifference; nor, perhaps, would it have excited the least attention, had it not been accompanied with another attack upon the public purse. A royal marriage in this country is always attended with the impost of an additional burden upon the people; and it was considered as rather an extraordinary circumstance that the Princess of Salm, the consort of the Duke of Cumberland, having been twice a widow, should not have brought her third husband even that common fortune which the widow of a British commoner, either from dowry or from settlement, would have had at her command. We will not point to the reasons which have rendered the Duke of Cumberland so unpopular in this country. They are too deeply engraved on the memory of the people to require from us any further notice; nor, perhaps, would even his marriage have been recorded in these pages, had it not given rise to a serious altercation between the Prince Regent and his royal mother. The nuptials of the royal pair were celebrated on the 29th of August, 1815, at Carlton House; of course the Prince Regent gave his sanction to the match, and received the Princess of Salm as his future sister-in-law. The Queen, however, thought proper to steer a different course; and, for reasons which have never been satisfactorily explained, refused to receive the German Princess at her court. This line of conduct was resented by the Prince Regent, as a tacit censure upon himself, in admitting a female to his court who would not be admitted at that of his mother. It was reported that the dislike of the Queen arose from some secret understanding that existed between the Princess of Salm and the Duke of Cambridge; whilst others, who professed to be in the secret, declared that the discountenance of the Queen arose from her squeamish aversion to second marriages; and, therefore, that the circumstance of the Princess of Salm having been twice a widow before she became Duchess of Cumberland was a direct offence against female

delicacy; that she had committed a double sin, and thereby brought down upon her the high displeasure of the royal mother. The Prince Regent, not being so stiffly starched in his morals, viewed the case in a different light. He continued to receive the Duchess of Cumberland at his court, but she never was acknowledged nor received at that of his mother.

The year 1816, notwithstanding the great and splendid deeds which the British arms had achieved during the preceding year, opened with distress and discontent on the part of the people. The Prince Regent seemed to think that the battle of Waterloo was to be considered as a panacea for all the calamities under which the people were suffering. Legitimacy was confirmed, the line of a hundred kings was restored, and the Regent of England was, in his own estimation, the greatest monarch on the earth. It was, however, not to the trophies of the battle of Waterloo that the British nation looked, but to the approaching meeting of Parliament, as the last remaining prop of their long-protracted hopes. There were several topics of great importance on which they wished to learn the opinion and sentiments of ministers. The property-tax, which had been reimposed solely in consequence of the war which originated with Buonaparte's return from Elba, they were extremely desirous of being freed from. It galled and irritated even those most excessively who were best able to pay it; and it certainly had been levied in many cases where no income was possessed. The merchant in a state of insolvency, but whose credit yet stood uninjured, was obliged to make a false return, and pay a per centage upon an income that was wholly fictitious. Closely connected with this subject was the state of the country: agriculture, manufactures, and commerce were still in a deplorable condition; indeed, instead of any the most distant or slow approximation to amendment, those sources of the existence, the comforts, and the wealth of the people, were still more dried up than they had previously been. The people hoped that ministers, at the meeting of Parliament, would do something in order to relieve the distresses and poverty of the country; yet they scarcely knew what, except the abandonment of the property-tax. A kind of despondency, not poignant and boisterous enough to

be deemed despair, seemed to have seized on the minds of the people, and the hopes they entertained of relief from the measures of Parliament were rather derived from the recollection that the Parliament had often passed effectual measures when distress existed, than from the hope that, in the present circumstances of the country, it could do anything effectual.

The session of 1816 was opened by commission; the Prince Regent declined opening it in person, for he knew well that the speech which he would have to deliver was a direct mockery upon the people, as being founded on falsehoods, which the meanest of his subjects, to their great sorrow, could detect on the first sight of them. At a time when distress was universal, when the channels of commerce were choked up, the commissioners, in the name of the Prince Regent, were authorized to tell the people, that his Royal Highness was happy to inform the House of Commons, that the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the United Kingdom were in a flourishing condition. It was no consolation to the people to tell them that they were covered with glory, at the same time that they had no food wherewith to satisfy the ordinary cravings of their nature. It was an insult upon them for their Regent to talk of economy, when he was spending as much upon a thatched cottage, as his predecessors did upon a palace; when so exquisite was his taste, so magnificent his ideas, that he could not endure to see the same furniture for two years successively. He told the people that the arts and sciences were in a flourishing condition, and by way of practical demonstration he gave eight hundred guineas for a clock, and a thousand for a Chinese cabinet. He spoke of the necessity of supporting the dignity of the crown, and by way of illustrating the principle, he appointed an additional number of lords of the bedchamber, as if the dignity of the crown consisted in a batch of titled paupers preceding royalty on its way to its dormitory; whereas the dignity of the Prince Regent would have been much better consulted, if one of them, in bowing to him at the door, would have whispered in his ear, as a subject for his midnight lucubrations, that his dignity would have been exalted if he would have apportioned his expenses to the circumstances of the

times, and have reminded him that the causes of the French revolution originated in royal extravagance.

Notwithstanding, however, the false statements contained in the speech of the Regent, so corrupt and venal was the Parliament, that one of its first acts was an address to his Royal Highness, conveying the entire approbation of the legislature to the measures of the executive authority, in the several treaties that had secured the peace. The principles of justice and moderation, in which the councils of his Royal Highness had been conducted, were greeted with a strong expression of satisfaction by both Houses.

From these proceedings of a public nature, the attention of the people was withdrawn to the all-engrossing topic of the marriage of the Princess Charlotte. Under the peculiar circumstances which distinguished the royal family at this period, the hopes of the nation were centred in her Royal Highness. The prospects of a legitimate succession to the crown rested on very slender grounds; for, with the exception of her Royal Highness, no other legitimate issue was known in the royal family. The marriage of the Duke of Cumberland did not promise much, his consort had been twice married, and no living issue was the result of those marriages. The Prince of Orange had been formally rejected by the Princess Charlotte, on account, it was reported, of an attachment having sprung up in her bosom for Prince Leopold of Coburg Saalfeld, who had visited this country with the allied Sovereigns, and who had been introduced to the Princess Charlotte by the Duchess of Oldenburg. No doubt exists that the Duchess employed all her talents to foster the attachment which the Princess had formed; for she was thereby furthering the views of her own court, although she knew she was acting in direct opposition to that at which she was then a visiter. The remonstrances of her father in favour of the Prince of Orange had no effect; they only seemed to increase her repugnance to the union; and finding that her affections were placed on another, the interests of the nation demanded that her inclinations should not be thwarted, and accordingly a messenger was despatched to Germany, to Prince Leopold, with the unexpected but highly gratifying intelligence, that he had been selected by the Princess Charlotte, as the

partner of her throne and bed. Prince Leopold was at Berlin, when the invitation of the Prince Regent was sent to him; he immediately obeyed the summons, and hastened to the high destiny to which he was called.

It would be extraneous in this place to enter into any analytical detail of the character of Prince Leopold; we are no strangers to the prejudices which exist in the minds of the people against him, but we have good reason to know that the majority of those prejudices have no foundation in truth. In fact it may be affirmed, that his character is not known by the English: in their jealousy at the enormous income which he enjoys, they find a cause for vituperation, and the most invidious statements; and it may be added, that personally obnoxious as he was to the late King, it was the fashion of his court to augment the foibles of Prince Leopold into glaring vices, and to hold him up to the contempt and obloquy of the people. It would, however, perhaps have been more consistent in those people, if, before they heaped their abuse upon Prince Leopold, they had looked around them and had examined whether there were not other illustrious individuals within the sphere of their observation, who were prone to still greater vices than Prince Leopold.

No one will accuse us of being the fulsome panegyrists of princes; abstractedly speaking, we consider princes but as men, and as such we mete out our approbation or our condemnation, accordingly as they exhibit themselves in the different relations of life. If, in the following slight sketch of the private character of Prince Leopold, we may be the means of removing any of those unmanly prejudices which exist against him, we can only claim to ourselves the merit of having performed an act of justice to a much maligned, but virtuous individual.

In his early youth, he manifested an excellent understanding and a tender and benevolent heart. As he advanced in years he displayed a strong attachment to literary and scientific pursuits, and even at that time all his actions were marked with dignified gravity and unusual moderation. His propensity to study was seconded by the efforts of an excellent instructor; and as he remained a stranger to all those dissipations with which persons of his age and rank are commonly indulged,

his attainments, so early as his fifteenth year, were very extensive. His extraordinary capacity particularly unfolded itself in the study of languages, history, mathematics, music, drawing, and botany, in which latter science he has made a proficiency that would be creditable to a professor.

The early part of the life of Prince Leopold was marked by vicissitudes, but they seem only to have contributed to preserve the purity of his morals, and they certainly have had a most powerful influence in the developement of that rare moderation, that ardent love of justice, and that manly firmness which are the predominant traits in the character of this Prince.

Necessitated in like manner at so early an age to attend to a variety of diplomatic business, he acquired, partly in this school, and partly in his extensive travels, a thorough knowledge of men in all their relations; and although his experience has not always been of the most agreeable species, still it has not been able to warp the kindness and benevolence of his nature.

In his campaigns, and in the field of battle, where all false greatness disappears, Prince Leopold gave the most undeniable proofs, that courage and a profound sense of religion and liberty are innate in his soul, and that clear intelligence and unshaken fortitude are his securest possessions. With such qualities of the head and heart, with a character and principles that so completely harmonized with the feelings, the notions, nay even the prejudices of the British nation, this illustrious Prince authorised us to anticipate, from his union with the heiress to the throne, results equally conducive to the welfare of the people at large, and the happiness of that distinguished family of which he was to become a member.

The rumours which had been for some time afloat respecting the marriage of the Princess Charlotte were eventually fully confirmed, by a message which was presented to the House of Lords, on the 14th of March, relative to the intended marriage of the Princess Charlotte to Prince Leopold of Coburg Saalfeld; and on the 15th the subject of their provision came on to be discussed in the House of Commons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed an allowance of 60,000*l.* to the Prince

and his intended wife, the Princess Charlotte, of which sum 10,000*l.* would form the privy purse of her Royal Highness. In the event of the Princess' demise, 50,000*l.* a year would be continued tothe Prince. The present allowance of the Princess Charlotte being no longer requisite, there would be a saving of 30,000*l.* a year on the civil list. To prevent the royal pair from being encumbered, he should propose an outfit of 50,000*l.*; it was computed that 40,000*l.* of this sum would be necessary for plate, wine, carriages, &c., and 10,000*l.* for the Princess' dress and jewels. A further application for money would be made when a suitable residence should be found for their Royal Highnesses. If the Princess were to become a widow, she was to have the whole 60,000*l.* The eldest child, being presumptive heir to the throne, was to be educated as the king directs. The following article of the marriage treaty we copy at length.

'Art. V. It is understood and agreed that her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte Augusta shall not, at any time, leave the United Kingdom, without the permission, in writing, of his Majesty, or of the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and without her Royal Highness' own consent.—And in the event of her Royal Highness being absent from this country, in consequence of the permission of his Majesty, or of the Prince Regent, or of her own consent, such residence abroad shall in no case be protracted beyond the term approved by his Majesty, or the Prince Regent, and consented to by her Royal Highness. And it shall be competent for her Royal Highness to return to this country before the expiration of such term, either in consequence of directions for that purpose, in writing, from his Majesty, or from the Prince Regent, or at her own pleasure.'

The treaty of marriage was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the three Secretaries of State, the President of the Council, and, on the part of the husband, by Baron de Just.

It was on the 21st of February, 1816, that Prince Leopold landed at Dover, and the following day proceeded to Brighton, where her Majesty, with the Princesses Elizabeth and Mary were then on a visit to the Regent and his daughter. The

reception of the Prince was most cordial on every side; and on the 5th of the following month the Queen and Princesses returned to Windsor to make preparations for the approaching nuptials, which, however, did not take place so soon as was expected, owing to the time necessarily occupied in the settlement of preliminaries, and the severe illness of Prince Leopold, who was confined at Brighton till the middle of April. On the 26th of that month, being the birthday of the Princess Mary, the Queen gave a grand entertainment at Frogmore, where the Prince Regent was received by his royal daughter, the Prince Leopold, and several members of the family, attended by a numerous party of the nobility, who had been invited to dine with her Majesty on this occasion. In the evening the Regent returned to London, and three days afterwards, the remainder of the family followed, to be in readiness for the nuptials; the Princess Charlotte going to Carlton House; Prince Leopold to the apartments of the Duke of Clarence in St. James' Palace, and her Majesty, with the Princesses, to Buckingham House, where the next day, being the 30th, a drawing-room was held according to etiquette, for the purpose of giving the young Prince a formal reception at the British court.

At length, the 2nd of May arrived, the day appointed for the celebration of the marriage, and accordingly the ceremony was performed in the great crimson room at Carlton House by his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of her Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Kent, their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Augusta, Sophia, Elizabeth, and Mary, her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Mademoiselle D'Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the great officers of state, the Ambassadors and Ministers from foreign states; the officers of the household of her Majesty the Queen, of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and of the younger branches of the royal family, assisting at the ceremony. At the conclusion of the marriage service, the registry of the marriage was attested with the usual formalities, after which her

Charlotte

Engraved by A. Roffe, from an original Picture in the possession of the Publishers

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Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the bride and bridegroom, with the rest of the royal family, retired to the royal closet. The bride and bridegroom soon after left Carlton House for Oatlands, the seat of his Royal Highness the Duke of York. Her Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and the rest of the royal family, passed into the great council chamber, where the great officers, nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction present, paid their compliments on the occasion. Immediately after the conclusion of the marriage the Park and Tower guns were fired, and the evening concluded with other public demonstrations of joy throughout the metropolis.

Prince Leopold was naturalized by an Act of Parliament, passed previously to his marriage; and referring to this subject in the speech of the Regent from the throne at the prorogation, he announced another royal marriage, between the Princess Mary and the Duke of Gloucester. Thus, in the course of one year, the prospect of the legitimate succession of the Brunswick line presented itself under the most favourable auspices; but the manner in which that prospect was blighted belongs to a future part of our history.

Ecce iterum Crispinus. The marriage of the Princess Charlotte had scarcely taken place, when the public attention was again drawn to the expensive habits of the Prince of Wales, through whose profusion the Civil List was constantly in arrear. His rage for the interior decoration of his palaces appeared to bid defiance to every principle of economy or of prudence. If his eyes were dazzled by the splendour of his gewgaws—if he could behold his Adonis-like form reflected from a hundred mirrors—if he could lie entranced in the lap of some meretricious dame, or brutalize himself with his nocturnal potations of the most stimulating liquors—what were to him the distresses of the country, the impoverished state of its finances, the depression of its commerce, or the starving condition of the people? Heedless of all but the gratification of his own inordinate desires, he persisted in a system of extravagance, profuse as it was vicious—immoral as it was ruinous. Agents were employed abroad to select the most costly pieces of furniture, which, after having been paid for,

and submitted to his royal inspection, were found not to suit his taste, and were restored to the cases in which they had been imported, to be consigned as tenants of the lumber-room. Like Charles II. of Spain, he had always some ruling hobby-horse (query, hobby-*mare?*), which always galloped away with him into the treasury of the country, from which, returning with the requisite load, it was in a short time neglected to make room for another still more expensive in its support and keeping. *De gustibus non est disputandum;* but perhaps no prince ever displayed so much frivolity and littleness in the choice of some of his hobbies, as the Prince of Wales, but in the keeping of which he obtained the envied title of a magnificent patron of the arts. The zoologists lauded him, because he knew a parrot from a kangaroo. The architects, with Sir Jeffrey Wyatville at their head, praised him because he knew the difference between a Chinese pagoda—*videlicet*, at Virginia Water—and a Turkish mosque, *invented* by Nash at Brighton. The antiquarians placed him at the head of their learned body, because, when the *furor antiquitatis* was upon him, they obtained 250*l.* from him for the candlestick which Paris used when he lighted Helen to her bed: and Mr. Ustonson of Fleet-street, of piscatorial celebrity, bruited it about in the vicinity of Temple-bar, that George IV. was the greatest monarch that ever filled the throne of this country, because his bill amounted every year to several hundred pounds for fishing-rods, blood-worms, and gentles. Let not these things be considered as derogatory to royalty, or that they are indicative of a little mind:—Buonaparte often amused himself with a game at marbles—George III. with turning a needle-case or a tobacco-stopper—Gustavus of Sweden employed his leisure hours in building houses with cards—and a far greater man than either of them, Isaac Newton, delighted at playing at push-pin. Sterne says, 'I quarrel not with the hobby of any man's choosing, unless he rides over me, or so bespatters me with mud, that my friends cannot recognize me;'—and it is on this account that we find fault with the hobbies of the Prince of Wales: for their support, he rode rough-shod over the people; he so bespattered them with the consequences of his extravagance, that nothing but the strong arm of military power could

have kept them true to their allegiance, or saved his throne from overthrow and destruction.

Nothing could exceed the indignation of the people, when the Civil List came before Parliament in May, 1816, and 50,000*l.* were found to have been expended in furniture at Brighton, immediately after 534,000*l.* had been voted for covering the excess of the Civil List, occasioned entirely by the reckless extravagance of the Prince Regent. The exertions of Mr. Tierney to introduce something like economy in the different departments were incessant. 'He lamented,' he said, 'that his Royal Highness was surrounded by advisers who precipitated him into such profusion. At his time of life, something different ought to be expected. The whole powers of his mind—the whole force of his ingenuity—appear to be employed in discovering some useless bauble on which money can be expended, merely from the love of spending. He knew, he said, there were those about him who encouraged and promoted those wasteful and frivolous objects, for the purpose of enriching themselves at the sacrifice of their sovereign's character and reputation.' On another occasion, Mr. Brougham, with the most pointed severity, inveighed against the indifference to the distress of the country manifested by the Prince's profusion; and he predicted that, unless some immediate change took place in the expensive habits of the Prince, the same game would be played in England as had latterly been exhibited in France.

These reiterated complaints, to which a deaf and sullen ear was turned, aggravated the distresses of the people; in a season of universal complaint as then existed, they increased the unpopularity of the Prince Regent, and broke out in a short time in open acts of violence against his person.

It was, however, not only the extravagance of the Prince that tended at this time to keep the public mind in a state of feverish excitation. That plenty and prosperity are not always the concomitants of peace too soon became apparent; and the excitement under which immense sums were lavished away having subsided, the nation, in its sober judgment, began to feel and to repent of its extravagance. The object that had been gained did not appear as an equivalent to the heavy

sacrifice that had been made. The period of suffering commenced, and it became necessary 'to live back,' and economy was the order of the day. It is the cant of politicians, that every peace is called the best peace that ever was made; but, if we examine the different peaces that have been concluded in this country, we shall find that each has left us saddled with an increased military establishment; and considering an enormous military establishment to be an incubus on the energies and prosperity of a country, especially one in the enjoyment of a constitution like that of England, it follows that the peace following the battle of Waterloo, having left us an overgrown military establishment, unparalleled in the annals of the country, was not attended with those blessings which are generally considered to be the concomitant of a state of peace. It is a desperate expedient to attempt to put down the grievances of a people by the power of the sword; but it was the only resource which ministers had in the year 1816, to prevent the people from taking the reins of government into their own hands. England had for some time been verging towards a continental system of government, in which large standing armies are maintained to supersede the ancient and acknowledged authorities. It was, however, seen, in this imitation of foreign nations, that, without much difficulty, the resemblance might be perfected by extinguishing the few remaining sparks of constitutional liberty in the country. It would have been well if all situations of life could have enjoyed its necessaries, by curtailing the superfluous; but want, and consequent discontent, were too apparent; and a large standing army, rendered necessary to control the dissatisfaction of the people, only added to their burdens and increased their agitation.

The Prince Regent had now to mourn a private loss. Sheridan, the friend of his youth, the companion of his pleasures, his confidential servant, and the abettor of all his juvenile profligacies, died on the 5th of July, 1816. They who think it a severity to scrutinize the actions of a man who died with the reputation of great abilities are too fastidious; for if justice be done in stating his merits, which challenge our respect, there is little reason why his failings should be suppressed,

particularly if they have been notorious. His foibles are the shades of a picture which, without them, would be but a sketch or an imperfect resemblance.

The education of Sheridan was scanty, but the career of literature which he pursued did not require its aid; and his wit covered all defects. His oratory was, perhaps, too redundant; his style of composition was elaborate and painful in the extreme, and forming quite a contrast to the playfulness of its display. Many of his speeches, it is supposed, were made in bed. His patriotism was genuine, flowing from the most rational notions of liberty. As a guardian of freedom at that moment, his situation was one of great difficulty. He was generally consistent in his politics; but his personal attachment to the Prince of Wales appears to have overcome his devotion to the party of which he was a member. His disposition was playful; in youth he was reckoned handsome, and the intellect of his eye continued to the last. He was kind and affectionate as a son, a brother, and a friend; and romantically attached as a husband. He had the art of being beloved, but his principles were irregular. He had no attachment for, nor any knowledge of, business. His life was one round of excitement; and, although really honest, he had the appearance of avoiding his engagements. The moral of his tale is, *nullum numen abest si sit prudentia.*

In his parliamentary life, Mr. Sheridan had many difficulties to encounter. His father was an actor. He had himself largely contributed to the amusement of the public, and was the manager of a theatre. The prejudices of mankind, however ridiculous, are too often victorious over the claims of genuine merit, and would have, perhaps, prevailed in intimidating any other person than the man against whom they were, in this instance, directed. Fully convinced of his decided superiority over birth and fortune, he proceeded, regardless of personal reflections; and if his opponents succeeded in irritating him by the asperity of their allusions, he met them with manly resolution, chastised them with the lash of legitimate satire, or held them up to universal ridicule, in bursts of extemporaneous wit that have never been equalled in the British senate. He was rapidly approaching to perfection as a public

speaker, and the impeachment of Mr. Hastings supplied him with an opportunity of displaying powers which were then unrivalled, but which afterwards rather declined than sustained themselves with equal vigour. His speech delivered in the House of Commons in April, 1787, on the eighth article, as stated in the order laid down by Mr. Burke, relative to money corruptly and illegally taken, was allowed to equal the most argumentative and impassioned orations that had ever been addressed to the judgment and feelings of the British Parliament.

Soon after this great era in the public life of Mr. Sheridan, the deplorable indisposition of his Majesty, which plunged the country into a state of the deepest distress, led to the discussion of a question exceeding in political magnitude every other national occurrence, from the Revolution of 1688 down to that time. The ministry and opposition essentially differed with respect to the means to be adopted for supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority; and Mr. Sheridan took a leading part in the attempts which were made to declare the Prince of Wales Regent, without such restrictions as Parliament should think fit to impose. The favour in which he was held at Carlton House was certainly superior to that enjoyed by the most distinguished members of the party; and his conduct occasioned suspicions that have never been completely removed. We have already, in our relation of the momentous occurrences which took place during the establishment of the regency, given a detailed account of the cause of those suspicions; and which, so far from being wiped away, are acknowledged by his latest biographer, Mr. Moore, to remain yet as a stigma upon his political character. The Prince of Wales was very much in the habit of consulting Mr. Sheridan; and, in some particular cases, the advice of the sincere friend was lost in the servile sycophancy of the time-serving courtier.

It is, however, certain that Sheridan's last days were deeply embittered by the baseness of 'friends remembering not;' and, at this trying time, the Prince of Wales was much blamed for his want of liberality to Sheridan, and that, too, in his last moments. A friend of Sheridan's, Mr. Vaughan, a few days

before the statesman's death, proffered the loan of 200*l.*, which Mrs. Sheridan declined. On this subject, Mr. Moore says, Mr. Vaughan always said that the donation thus meant to be doled out came from a royal hand; but this is hardly credible. It would be safer, perhaps, to let the suspicion rest upon that gentleman's memory of having indulged his own benevolent disposition in this disguise, than to suppose it possible that so scanty and reluctant a benefaction was the sole mark of attention accorded by a 'gracious prince and master' to the last death-bed wants of one of the most accomplished and faithful servants that royalty ever yet raised or ruined by its smiles. When the philosopher Anaxagoras lay dying for want of sustenance, his great pupil Pericles sent him a sum of money. 'Take it back,' said Anaxagoras; 'if he wished to keep the lamp alive, he ought to have administered the oil before.'

An able writer in the Westminster Review, however, attempts to exculpate the Prince of Wales from this reproach of neglect of Sheridan; but the great ground of the inculpation of his Royal Highness is his neglect of him at a time when he stood in the greatest need of assistance; and no certain proof is in existence that the slightest relief was ever administered by the royal hand. The following circumstance goes a very little way to prove that, in any act of bounty or kindness displayed by the Prince towards Sheridan, selfishness had not a preponderating weight in the commission of it. Sheridan was a tower of strength in Parliament; and the Prince well knew that he could ill spare so talented an advocate in the various questions which were agitated in Parliament respecting him, and more particularly whenever the Civil List came under examination, as it was in that quarter that he lay most exposed to the lashes of his enemies. Sheridan, as we have observed in a former part of this work, lost himself with his party and the country in the dissolution of 1812; and, consequently, lost also his political consequence and his parliamentary protection. The Prince Regent, however, about the latter end of 1812, conveyed to him, through Lord Moira, 4000*l.*, in order that he might buy a seat. The money was deposited with Mr. Cocker, the solicitor, and a treaty was opened for Wotton-Basset. 'On three successive evenings,' says the writer in

the Review, 'Mr. Cocker dined with Sheridan at an hotel in Albemarle-street, a chaise being on each night waiting at the door to convey them to Wotton-Basset. On each night, Sheridan, after his wine, postponed the journey to the next day; and on the fourth day, he altogether abandoned the project of purchasing a seat in Parliament, received the 4000*l.*, and applied that sum, as he was warranted to do by the permission of the donor, to his private uses.'

This is the statement of the affair as given in the 'Review,' and, if true, would have a tendency to relieve the Prince of Wales from the reproach of not having administered to the relief of Sheridan; a charge which has been urged against his Royal Highness in numberless smart satires and lampoons; but, unfortunately for the fame and character of Sheridan, one part of the above narrative is not founded in truth. The Prince of Wales advanced the sum of 4000*l.* for the sole and express purpose of purchasing a seat in parliament, and for no other purpose whatever, nor under any condition, that if such seat were not purchased, Sheridan was empowered to apply it to any purpose he pleased. He obtained the money from the solicitor by one of those stratagems in which no human mind was more fertile than his own, and against which, all the depth of legal cunning, and the most determined caution, fell hurtless *. It was to this dishonourable act on the part of

* One of the most singular specimens of the extraordinary facility with which Sheridan could devise a plan to extricate himself from a pressing emergency was exhibited on a particular occasion in Drury-lane Theatre. The carpenter belonging to the establishment, who had a demand upon the theatre for above 1500*l.*, had tried for a length of time, but in vain, to obtain an interview with Sheridan; but the wary manager always contrived to elude him. He determined at last to lie in wait for him, and caught Sheridan one morning, as he was entering the stage-door. There was now no escape. Sheridan knew the import of his business. Promises of early payment he knew to be of no avail, and therefore some scheme was to be put in force to extricate himself from the importunities of the dun. Sheridan accosted him with the most hearty expressions of his great delight on receiving this visit, as he had long wished to consult the worthy mechanic on some change in the construction of the theatre, some complaints having been made that the voices on the stage were not distinctly audible in the gallery. The carpenter began to allude to the payment of his long outstanding debt. 'Let us,' said Sheridan, 'arrange the projected alteration first; and then we will come to the settlement of the account. Now, in order that I may convince myself of the justness of the complaint, you shall place yourself on the stage, and I will go into the gallery, and we can converse upon the subject of your call equally well in that situation, as where we now are.' The carpenter was accordingly placed in the middle of the stage, and Sheridan in a very short time appeared in the gallery. 'Now, my friend, begin,' said Sheridan. 'When will it be convenient to settle my

Sheridan, that the future conduct of the Prince of Wales may be traced. He felt naturally indignant at the mal-appropriation of the money; he lost the services for which he had paid; and he naturally turned a deaf ear to any future application for pecuniary relief.

We are aware that, by this version of the affair, we have thrown a new light upon the conduct of the Prince of Wales, and have exonerated him from the stigma of an unjust and heartless desertion of his early associate and friend; nevertheless, it must still be received *cum grano salis*. There are those who still maintain, that Sheridan had the permission of the Prince, either to purchase a seat, or to apply the money to his own immediate pressing exigencies; it is however, singular, that no mention is made of this circumstance, by his latest biographer, Mr. Moore. Indeed, from the well-known talents of that gentleman, and the sources of information that were open to him, we had reason to expect a far superior work to that which his Life of Sheridan exhibits. The whole life of Sheridan was a rich mine of anecdote and wit; it was replete with 'those flashes that were wont to set the table in a roar,' but we look for them in vain in the work of Mr. Moore; indeed a ray now and then breaks upon us, indicative of the glorious light that is behind; but the effulgence of the blaze is wanting, and we see the great luminary as through a piece of smoked glass, or, like one of Ossian's heroes, through a cloud of mist, dim, gloomy, and confused *.

About the middle of June, 1816, says Mr. Moore, the attention and sympathy of the public were, for the first time,

account?' cried the carpenter. 'I do not hear distinctly,' said Sheridan, 'speak rather louder.' The carpenter repeated his question in a louder tone. 'That will do,' said Sheridan, and left the gallery. The carpenter waited some time, in expectation of the manager, but no Sheridan appeared; and on inquiry, he found that the manager had left the theatre by the gallery door; and that he had been made the complete dupe of a stratagem.

* It is surprising with what a talismanic power the names of certain authors operate on the auricular nerves of the publishers. If the name of Sir Walter Scott had not been affixed to the 'Life of Napoleon Buonaparte,' and the same work had been offered by some 'Unknown,' the chances are ten to one that it would have been 'declined.' If the author of the 'Epicurean' had not affixed his name to the 'Life of Sheridan,' the English literature would have been *minus* a good, seemly, thick, expensive quarto volume, half margin, and a superabundance of *lead*. Biography is not the forte either of Moore or of Scott. One page of the 'Epicurean' is worth a dozen of the 'Life of Sheridan,' and a chapter of the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian' is worth a volume of the 'Life of Napoleon.'

awakened to the desolate situation of Sheridan, by an article that appeared in the *Morning Post*, written, as it was understood, by a gentleman, who, though on no very cordial terms with him, forgot every other feeling in a generous pity for his fate, and in honest indignation against those who now deserted him. 'Oh! delay not,' said the writer, without naming the person to whom he alluded, 'delay not to draw aside the curtain within which that proud spirit hides its sufferings.' He then adds, with a striking anticipation of what afterwards happened: 'prefer ministering in the chamber of sickness, to mustering at

'The splendid sorrows that adorn the hearse.'

I say *life* and *succour*, against Westminster Abbey and a funeral.'

The spirit of Sheridan was now rapidly exhausting. That master-mind was breaking, which had adorned our senate and our stage. After a succession of shivering fits, he fell into a state of exhaustion, in which he continued with but few more degrees of suffering, until his death which took place on Sunday the 7th of July, 1816, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Sheridan's funeral was, however, attended by a phalanx of dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, barons, honourables, and right honourables—princes of the blood royal, and first officers of state. Upon this idle, not to say insulting parade, Mr. Moore indignantly observes, 'Where were they all, those royal and noble persons who now crowded to partake the gale of Sheridan's glory: where were they all but a few weeks before; when their interposition might have saved his heart from breaking; or when the zeal, now wasted on the grave, might have soothed and comforted his death-bed? This is a subject on which it is difficult to speak with patience. If the man were unworthy of the commonest offices of humanity, while he lived, why all this parade of regret and homage over his tomb?'

The Prince Regent may now be said, as far as regards the early associates of his youth, to be standing alone in the world; and if we compare the character of his intimates of 1817, with that of those who surrounded him in his youth, how wide and melancholy the difference! Whilst he lived in the same atmosphere with a Fox, a Burke, and a Sheridan, his ideas of men and things were not allowed to sink into littleness and insig-

nificance; animated by their example, he formed his estimate of a man by the noble qualifications of his mind; by his intellectual endowments, and by his general and enlarged experience in the world. Associating with deep-thinking persons, he was himself *obliged* to think; it was not to the exterior, nor to the mere superficies that they directed their attention; they penetrated to the very nucleus; every sentence they uttered was a rare and valuable apophthegm, drawn from the richest stores of human knowledge, and fertilizing whatever soil they fell upon with precepts of practical wisdom. In the company of such men, the veriest dolt must have risen some degrees in the scale of human learning; and if the naturally depraved habits of the Prince, in which it must be confessed he was encouraged and confirmed by those very men, had not tended in a great degree to counteract the efficacy of their transcendant abilities, he would at a maturer age have appeared a grand and noble exception in the long list of European kings, whom hereditary right placed upon a throne, and fate destined to be monarchs, to show how little talent is required to constitute the character of a heaven vicegerent.

Compare the table associates of the Prince Regent of 1817 with those of 1787. The master-minds were gone, and their place was usurped by pigmies in intellect, who, taking their tone from the royal taste, descanted in rhapsodical language on the manifest improvement which had taken place in style of dress, since that momentous subject had occupied the attention of the royal mind. The question of the superiority in point of elegance of the buckle over the shoe-tie was argued with greater gravity, than the expediency of the battle of Algiers, or the consequences of the treaty of Vienna. The natural fit of a wig, and the graceful adjustment of its curls, were the topic of conversation, where once were heard the glowing patriotism and constitutional knowledge of a Fox, the extensive learning and impassioned oratory of a Burke, and the splendid wit and elegant language of a Sheridan. Looking round him at the head of his sycophants, the Prince might with propriety exclaim, *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamus ab illis.*

The Prince, however, began to show at this time his predi-

lection for seclusion; himself the centre, and the circle around him of the most restricted kind. His habits were those of self-enjoyment; the real *otium cum dignitate* of royalty with very little of publicity: in fact, his unpopularity had at this time risen to that height, that on his return from opening the parliament in 1817, he was fired at from amongst the crowd, by some traitor with an air-gun, the bullet of which broke the windows of the carriage. This attempt upon his life, and the marked demonstrations of discontent and anger with which he was received by the populace, produced at last a conviction upon his mind, that he was not popular with the people, an idea which it was impossible to divest him of: for at the very height of his unpopularity, there were those sycophants around him, whose study it was to persuade him that he was the very idol of the people; that the country, under his wise and energetic government, had reached the zenith of its military fame and its commercial prosperity; and that his name would stand recorded in history as the most patriotic prince that ever swayed the sceptre of the British realms.

The attempt upon his life was immediately communicated to both Houses of Parliament, and measures founded on the communication were immediately adopted. The act for the security of his Majesty's person, which was passed in 1795, was extended to the person of the Prince Regent; while the various laws in regard to tumultuous meetings, debating societies, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, were consolidated into a new form, to strengthen the hands of the ministers. The House of Lords voted a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of the person who had fired the bullet, or who had thrown a stone into the carriage, but the discovery was never made; and some unpleasant rumours were circulated, that the whole was a vamped-up business to give a sanction to those very strong measures which ministers then had in contemplation.

There is not, perhaps, any official document which contains a greater number of political falsehoods, or which has a more direct tendency to mislead the people, in regard to the real state of the country, than that deceptive compilation yclept the King's speech, on the opening of Parliament. Submit it to the test of sense, intelligence, or wisdom, and the result

will be a *caput mortuum*,—analyze it in the alembic of truth, the dross will be superabundant—the ore, a grain. The speech of the Prince Regent on opening the Session of Parliament of 1817, was looked for with extraordinary anxiety, as it was expected that some measures would be announced, tending to relieve the distresses of the people, and restore the country to its pristine prosperity. In this expectation, however, the people were lamentably disappointed: he alluded to the prevailing discontents, and attributed them to a cause directly opposite to the true one; or, in other words, they were the result of circumstances which could neither be foreseen nor prevented. He was, however, so far candid as to tell the people, that he knew so much of the nature of those discontents, that they did not admit of an immediate remedy; which declaration, if any other person than a Prince Regent had made it, would have been construed into the belief, that he knew nothing at all about the matter. It was, however, necessary to flatter the people, by telling them that their patience was highly exemplary, that the fortitude with which they endured their trials deserved his highest praise, and that he had the fullest reliance on their loyalty and patriotism, to continue the display of that fortitude until the great wisdom of his ministers, in conjunction with his own, should stumble upon some measures, to put an end to the existing distresses. He then proceeded to express his firm persuasion, that although the country was evidently in a state of great distress, its prosperity was still unimpaired; that although starvation might exist to a certain degree, yet there was plenty in the land, and that it would soon manifest itself to the great joy of his loyal and dutiful subjects. He concluded by expressing his confident expectation, that his people would continue, like asses, to bear their burdens patiently; that they would neither bite nor kick at himself, nor at his sage and able ministers; that a rigid system of economy should be observed in every department of the state, himself setting the example; and, as a climax, he declared that it was with the greatest satisfaction that he looked forward to the period when, by the energies of his people, all the difficulties in which the country was involved would be surmounted.

The Regent returned to Carlton House and his pleasures—to his Marchioness and his hobbies; and he began his example of economy by devising a magnificent plan for altering his stables at Brighton, in which utility was a secondary consideration, and the expense no consideration at all. Alterations were also projected at Carlton House and the Pavilion; and these alterations were again altered, till the artists could only have been reconciled to the changes proposed by the royal caprice, on account of the immediate source of profit which it opened to them. The people, however, regarded the speech of the Regent as an aggravation of their distresses. Societies were formed in the metropolis, with union branches all over the country, for the purpose of exciting clamour and sedition. In some instances, it must be admitted that errors were attributed to Government which were the inevitable consequence of a change of circumstances, and for which, as the Regent expressed himself in his speech, no immediate remedy could be found. Ministers, however, went too far in their accusations. The treason, according to their statement, was deeply laid, and the plan of operations alarmingly extensive. Placards were exhibited with the most inflammatory inscriptions, in which the words 'No Regent' were emphatically joined with the most terrific threats. Carlton House was almost in a state of siege; and the Prince Regent decamped privately to Brighton, to await the passing of the storm. In the mean time, however, the rebellious spirit of the people seemed to augment; and it was reported that several hundred thousands of names were enrolled in the lists of the disaffected, and everything announced a repetition of the horrors of the French revolution. Lord Castlereagh made this popular ebullition the pretence for passing six bills, commonly called the gagging bills, which rendered the ministry as unpopular as the Regent himself. A secret committee was appointed to investigate the causes of the disturbances of the people, to detect the authors and the fomenters of the seditious proceedings; and on the report of that committee, ministers were resolved to act with the most determined spirit and rigour. The report was made, and, so far from tranquillizing the country, it tended to increase the alarm, by exposing the imminent danger in which it was placed,

and the extraordinary extent to which the designs of the disaffected were carried. The indignation of the people was now visited upon the members of that committee; and there were not wanting several members of the House, whose characters placed them beyond suspicion, who reprobated the labours of the committee in the most unmeasured terms, as having a tendency to increase the rebellious spirit of the people, on account of the anti-constitutional and inquisitorial manner in which the investigations were carried on. All the defensive acts were, however, passed; and, in the Regent's speech at the conclusion of the session, members were recommended to use their influence in their several counties, to defeat all attempts to corrupt and to mislead the lower classes of the community.

Notwithstanding the alarming state of the country, the Prince Regent relinquished none of his expensive habits; on the contrary, every day was the parent of some extravagant whim, which his highly-vaunted classical taste had devised, or which came recommended to him under the sanction of some female favourite. His rage for alterations was boundless; and the only thing which he would not alter, or which he considered did not require altering, was himself. He altered Carlton House—he altered the Pavilion at Brighton—he altered his Cottage at Windsor—and, out of sheer vanity, he altered his birth-day. A hint, a single word, would sometimes lead to the dismantling of a room, and to the removal of objects which, but a few months before, had been put up at an enormous expense. On one occasion, a room of Carlton House had been fitted up in a splendid manner, and embellished with superb golden eagles, when Sir Edmund Nagle, with less flattery than royalty usually meets with, and in his usual blunt manner, reminded the Prince that the eagle was profusely used by Napoleon in all his decorations, both military and civil. This hint was conclusive: the eagles were removed, and the general style of the room altered.

The favourite female companion of the Prince Regent at this time was the Marchioness of Hertford: to her his visits were frequent, but to his other intimates his visits were like those of angels, 'few and far between.' His courts and public

parties were very infrequent; and, although at no period of his life was he long fond of what is commonly called dropping the king, yet he now began to court what La Bruyère thinks the only want of a prince to complete his happiness, 'the pleasure of private life—a loss that nothing can compensate but the fidelity of his select friends, and the applause of rejoicing subjects.' The sponging sycophants of the court give but little of the former, while the lavish expenditure of the Prince gained for him still less of the latter.

The situation of the Princess Charlotte now excited an unusual degree of interest in the country. Her approaching accouchement was looked forward to with hope and confidence, but not with dread. The health of the Princess Charlotte had been uniformly good; indeed, it seemed to bear a resemblance to that preternatural state of health from which the great father of physic teaches us to apprehend so much. That no apprehension for the result rested upon the minds of any of the members of the royal family, may be collected from the preparations which were, at this important period, carried on for the visit of her Majesty, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Clarence, to Bath, and for the departure of the Prince Regent on a visit to the Marchioness of Hertford at Ragley Hall. The circumstance, however, of the Queen and the Prince Regent taking their departure for the country at a crisis fraught with so much interest to themselves and the nation at large, subjected them to some very acrimonious reflections; and there were not wanting those who placed a construction upon the absence of the Queen, which went to implicate her character in the most serious manner. In justice, however, to her late Majesty Queen Charlotte, it must be stated, that she did actually offer to postpone her journey to Bath until after the accouchement, and to give her personal attendance during that trying period; but that the offer was indignantly rejected by the Princess Charlotte, who declared that she would not have any of her enemies about her.

It was early in the morning of the 5th of November that symptoms of the approaching delivery of the Princess Charlotte exhibited themselves; and a consultation was held between the three professional gentlemen in attendance, Sir

Richard Croft, and Drs. Baillie and Sims, when, from the report of the former, it was decided that the labour was evidently advancing, though slowly; but that, from the situation of the Princess, it would be advisable to leave everything to nature, and not to employ any artificial means.

In this stage of this melancholy narrative, it may be necessary to premise, that Sir Richard Croft was the acting accoucheur, the other two gentlemen never having been admitted into the presence of the Princess until the fatal symptoms appeared; and that Sir Richard Croft was assisted by Mrs. Griffiths, the officiating nurse, but in the appointment of whom to an office of such tremendous responsibility, patronage and interest seem to have got the better of discretion and sound judgment. Mrs. Griffiths had herself never been a mother; and, although she might be considered as the female adjunct of Sir Richard Croft in his obstetrical duties, a more experienced person should have been selected, when such an important event was at issue as the legitimate succession to the Crown.

At half-past 5 in the morning of the 5th, the following bulletin was issued from Claremont:—

'The labour of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte has within the last three or four hours considerably advanced; and will, it is hoped, within a few hours, be happily terminated.'

But at a quarter past 9, the hope thus encouraged was destroyed by the following annunciation:—

'At 9 o'clock this evening, Nov. 5, her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte was safely delivered of a still-born child, and her Royal Highness is going on favourably.'

On the report that the Princess was doing well, Prince Leopold had retired to rest in the adjoining chamber, but he was amongst the few who attended the summons on the first indication of indisposition. About 11 o'clock her Royal Highness appeared inclined to sleep: this might perhaps have been the effect of mere exhaustion; but as it was unattended by any of the usual characters of illness, it was construed into a favour-

able circumstance, and the great officers of state immediately took their departure.

The first alarming symptoms occurred about 12 o'clock, when her Royal Highness felt a difficulty in swallowing some gruel, at the same time complaining of being chilly, and of a pain in her chest. Her quiet left her, she became restless and uneasy, and the medical attendants felt alarmed. Drs. Baillie and Sims immediately joined Sir Richard Croft, and every remedy which their united skill could devise was sedulously applied. From that time the fatal issue advanced rapidly: a slight difficulty in swallowing, which soon subsided, in addition to the sickness, was all that had previously occurred; but from this time, pain in the chest, great difficulty in respiration, and extreme restlessness increased, until the fears of the physicians could be no longer dissembled. Expresses were immediately sent off to the cabinet ministers, conveying their doubts with respect to the event.

Some small supplies of nourishment were now administered to her Royal Highness, but they appeared to create only a nausea. She vomited, but nothing was ejected, except a little camphor julep which she had taken; and at this moment her pulse was firm, steady, and under a hundred. She again became composed.

About five minutes before her death, the Princess said to her medical attendants, 'Is there any danger?' They replied, that they requested her Royal Highness to compose herself. The Princess replied with great composure, 'I understand the meaning of that answer;' and it is stated she added that she had one request to make, and begged that it might be put in writing. It was, that she hoped the customary etiquette would be dispensed with at some future day; and that her husband, when his awful time should arrive, might be laid by her side.

The utterance of this request seemed partially to have relieved her departing spirit. She now appeared as if her interest in the concerns of this world were at an end; and a solemn, heart-rending silence followed. For some moments, the throbbings of the hearts of the agitated attendants might almost have been heard. The vital spark flashed for a moment brightly, but the power of articulation was gone. The dimness

of death was creeping fast upon her sight; still she moved not her eyes from the face of her beloved husband, who stood in speechless agony over her. He hung upon that countenance which had been his delight in health, in strength, and joy; and it now beamed consolation and support on the awful verge of a purer life.

In her last agonies—in that awful moment when the scenes of this earth and all their grandeur were to close upon her for ever—scenes in which she had experienced the height of terrestrial bliss—the Princess grasped the hand of him who had ever been the object of that bliss. It was not the warm grasp of life—it was the convulsive one of death. Her head fell on her bosom, and, breathing a gentle sigh, she expired.

When this deplorable event took place, the Regent had been for a week or ten days at the seat of Lord Hertford, in Suffolk; but having received intelligence that the illness of the Princess Charlotte had commenced, he hastened to town on his way to Claremont. During his journey, his Royal Highness stopped two messengers with despatches; these, it is said, announced only the slow progress of the labour, and the apparent absence of danger; a third, with the account of the still-born child, passed him in the night; from which circumstance it was not until after his arrival in town that his Royal Highness became acquainted with the full extent of his irreparable loss. He reached Carlton House about four in the morning, when the Duke of York and Lord Bathurst met him as the official bearers of the melancholy intelligence.

The lamentable news was despatched to the Princess of Wales, who was then in Italy. The sudden shock, with a retrospect of the cruel manner in which she had been separated from her only daughter, occasioned much bitter suffering. As a tribute of affection, she raised a cenotaph to her memory in the garden of Pesaro*. Her melancholy increased even

* We will take this opportunity of inquiring what is become of the enormous sum which was contributed in this country for the erection of a cenotaph to the memory of the Princess Charlotte, not a stone of which cenotaph has yet been laid down, after an interval of fourteen years!! Into whose pocket have the thousands subscribed found their way? or to what *pressing exigency* have they been applied? The subscribers have a right to obtain the most satisfactory evidence on this point; and as the money was not appropriated to the purpose for which it was subscribed, have not the subscribers the power of demanding back the respective

amidst the splendid charms of Italian scenery; clear skies and golden sunsets, and the picturesque haunts of wood and grove, and rocky shore, could afford no resting-place for her sorrow; and from this period, absence strengthened affection, and her desire to visit England, and to wail over the grave of her child, became redoubled. Nature would have it so, for the child became endeared to the mother by the trials and long-suffering which she had endured on her account, and the fondness which the young Princess had shown for her exiled parent, even amidst the scorns and frowns of her royal father. The bereaved mother refused to be comforted: writing to Lady ———, in England, she says, 'England I now sigh to visit. Over the tomb of my dear Charlotte I long to weep, again and again to weep.' Such was the plaintiveness of her lament.

The death of this illustrious female, in its immediate consequences in the succession to the Crown, was one of the most disastrous events which have happened in the history of this country. On referring to antecedent periods, we find no calamity resembling it. We live under an hereditary limited monarchy; not for the pre-eminence of those who govern, but jointly with those and their security, for that also of ourselves and our children who are governed; and in the distribution of happiness, as far as the Constitution imparts it, probably the reigning family has no undue share; but whatever occurrence affects its interests, its continuity, its dignity, or even its comforts, affects, in a deep degree, all the families of the nation. Henry I. lost an only son of great promise by shipwreck, between Barfleur and England, and the father was never seen to smile afterwards; but that son was known to entertain certain prejudices against the English nation, so that his death need not have plunged the inhabitants in any very acute grief. The hopes of a brave nation were cruelly disappointed by the death of the Black Prince, the son of Edward III.; but he left a son, who might inspire hopes, at least, in the midst of the national sorrow, although he may have failed ultimately in realizing them; for it was not until many years after the death of his grandfather,

quotas of their subscription, and, if refused, to enforce it by legal proceedings? This whole job is an actual breach of the national faith, and as such, we recommend Mr. Hume, or some other independent member, to make it a subject of Parliamentary investigation.

that the incapacity of Richard II. to govern was ascertained. The melancholy fate of the two princes in the Tower was rather calculated to draw tears from their contemporaries, than to blight the prospect of public tranquillity: the times also were turbulent, and men's minds were familiarized to conflicting claims and disputed successions. Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., was esteemed a youth of merit, but he left behind a brother of equal talents, had he not been corrupted by power, for it is an undeniable fact, that all the vices, and all the villanies of Henry VIII., numerous as they were, sprang from a servile Parliament, and the indulgence of an unrestrained will. The death of Edward VI. was, indeed, a severe and lamentable public calamity; it wanted only one bitterness,—it came not unforeseen nor unexpected; the line of succession was clear; and out of the gloom which followed his death, it pleased Providence at no remote period to draw the brightest and most glorious light. James I. lost his eldest son, Henry, a prince who had endeared himself to the nation, but whose military character, as Hume justly observes, apparent from his earliest youth, was more calculated to enhance the glory, than to secure the liberties of the people whom he was to govern. In all these cases the loss was single, or at least equivalent to single. The defalcation, however, which was occasioned by the death of a parent and her child, takes a much more deep and extensive range into futurity. In the common course of nature, it may affect the quiet and orderly administration of affairs for more than eighty or a hundred years to come, and we see at the present hour in what manner it has affected the legitimate succession to the crown.

The Duke of York and Lord Bathurst had no sooner imparted the melancholy intelligence to the Prince Regent, than he immediately despatched them to Claremont, offering Prince Leopold an asylum in Carlton House, to spare him the painful sight of the afflicting preparations necessary for the funeral of his consort; and apartments were immediately ordered for his reception. The offer was, however, declined by Prince Leopold, who could not be induced to separate himself from the object who had been so dear to him.

The effect which the death of the Princess Charlotte had

upon the Queen was of the most poignant kind. An express had been sent off to her, at Bath, communicating the unpleasant tidings, of the Princess Charlotte having been delivered of a still-born child; and the message arrived about a quarter of an hour before her Majesty received the address of the corporation of Bath. Her Majesty, however, soon recovered from the first impression, being solaced by the assurance that her grand-daughter was going on favourably.

After the introduction to her Majesty, the mayor and corporation and a numerous company repaired to the Guildhall to dine together. Before the tables were cleared, one of her Majesty's pages brought a letter to Sir H. Halford; it was immediately handed to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, who reading it with much emotion, rose from his seat and took his departure. It is impossible to describe the sensation of the assemblage after the sudden departure of the Duke. In a faltering tone of voice the Marquess of Camden proposed a suspension of all entertainment, and every individual rose from the table deeply sympathising with the irreparable loss which the nation had sustained.

As soon as the fatal intelligence had arrived in town, Lord Sidmouth sent off a messenger with a despatch to Bath. On his arrival he found that her Majesty was at dinner with the Princess Elizabeth, the Countess Dowager of Ilchester, General Taylor, and some other distinguished personages. The despatch being addressed to General Taylor, he came out and read it with the emotions it was calculated to excite. The General with a view to communicate the afflicting intelligence to the Queen in the best possible way, requested Lady Ilchester to be called out. On the return of her ladyship to the apartment, the Queen immediately changed colour, and with evident alarm exclaimed, 'I know some fatal event has happened!' When the awful intelligence was disclosed, her Majesty's anguish was extreme. She covered her face, and gave a convulsive sob. The same mournful impression was made on the Princess Elizabeth, who was exceedingly agitated; and they both retired to their private apartments. The Queen, notwithstanding her wishes, was too much indisposed to leave

Bath immediately, but she and the Princesses arrived at Windsor in the course of the same week.

The Prince Regent was so deeply affected by the melancholy intelligence, that it became necessary to bleed him twice, besides cupping him; this gave him a temporary bodily relief, although his mental sufferings were as acute as ever. On the 9th, his Royal Highness received a visit from the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, who on receiving the lamentable information, immediately set off from Weymouth for town. The Duchess, on her arrival at Carlton House, partly on account of the shocking event of the death of the Princess, and partly on witnessing the deep affliction which seemed almost to overwhelm her royal brother, was so dreadfully agitated, that it was found necessary to detain her Royal Highness, and after some time she was prevailed upon to retire for the purpose of repose. The Duke of Gloucester, at the request of the Prince Regent, then proceeded to Claremont. The Prince Regent having been apprised of the effect which their mutual calamity had produced on the Queen and the Princesses at Windsor, determined to repair thither, in the hope, perhaps, of finding some alleviation, however slight, for his affliction, by sharing it with those scarcely less interested in it than himself.

The 19th of November was the day fixed upon for the funeral of the Princess Charlotte, and truly it may be said to have been a day of prayer and lamentation, not only throughout the vast metropolis, but throughout the whole realm *.

* It is impossible to have witnessed a more striking contrast than that which presented itself in the town of Windsor, at the funeral of the Princess Charlotte and that of George IV., her father. The former was a display of the deepest national sorrow; the tear stood glistening in almost every eye, and a smile would have been an insult upon the memory of the deceased. The funeral of George IV. was a positive Jubilee. Crowds hastened to witness the pageantry of the spectacle; but not on a single countenance was observed an expression of grief. The Park was thronged with joyous parties, and shouts of revelry and mirth were interrupted only by the firing of the minute-gun, or the rolling of the carriages conveying the *mourners* to the ceremony. Under one tree was heard the glee of 'When Arthur first at Court began,' and under another 'A merry king, and a merry king, and a right merry king was he;' whilst in the streets of the town, in the immediate vicinity of the Castle, where lay in all the magnificence of royalty, and all the littleness and insignificance of humanity, the putrifying remains of England's sovereign defunct, a kind of fair was held, where the Life and Portrait of the late King, of blessed memory, were to be had for one penny; and the amours of the Marchioness of Conyngham, as a necessary appendix, for a penny also. It

Never in ancient ages, when the virgins of Israel wept in sackcloth and ashes, and the beauty of Jerusalem was in the dust, have the fasts and the humiliations of the chosen people been observed with more heartfelt sorrow and unaffected devotion. Though the great metropolis did not rend her clothes, nor send the roar of her lamentations through all her gates, she was desolate in spirit, and breathed forth her afflictions in silence and in tears. The spectacle was awful, and at the same time it was consolatory; for it was gratifying even in woe, to behold the religious feeling with which a great and reflecting nation acknowledged the chastising providence of the Almighty, and, bowing in humble resignation to his behests, implored a relaxation of his wrath. If this empire has prospered amidst the calamities of the world, and risen, as it were, whilst surrounding nations have been falling to pieces,—if it has remained unbroken, nay, triumphant from every conflict; if it has had no bounds set to its glory and its power, it mainly owes these dear, these exclusive blessings, to the deep sense of faith and gratitude which it has generally preserved towards the Giver of life and of victory. This was the shield that covered it in the day of battle; the spear that overthrew the multitude of its foes. When this sense seemed blunted by long prosperity, and confidence and pride succeeded humility and religion, a warning blow was struck, but still more in mercy than in anger.

Whoever beheld the crowds which filled our churches on the day of the funeral of the Princess Charlotte, the deep attention with which they hung upon the divine word, the devout fervency of their prayers, and the tears with which they embalmed the memory of the deceased Princess must have been convinced that sincere and ardent religion had resumed its empire over their hearts. By an impulse of feeling, as spontaneous as it was universal, all business was suspended throughout the metropolis. Every shop was shut as during the solemnity of the sabbath; the shutters of most private houses were also closed; and while the deep tolling of bells sounded

was intended to be a '*holy-day*,' but it was a genuine *bonâ fide* '*holiday*'; and the staunch sticklers for royalty must have retired from the contemplation of the scene with a very contemptible idea of English loyalty.

mournfully above, and the afflicted countenances and the black vestments of woe passed silently along, funeral processions seemed to move in every street, and the whole land to weep in desolation*.

Turning from the painful recollection of the severe loss which the country sustained in the death of the Princess Charlotte, to the consideration of the public interests affected by the sad event, the first, the weightiest in political importance, and that, indeed, at the time which seemed to absorb and swallow up all others, was the succession to the throne. In a monarchy like ours, the circumstance is of paramount importance; and the situation in which the country is placed, at the period when we are now writing, exhibits in a very strong light the serious consequences which have resulted from the death of the Princess Charlotte and her infant. By her death the Duke of York became heir-presumptive to the crown, from whom no issue was expected; and the next in succession was the Duke of Clarence, at that time unmarried. A very curious and interesting calculation was made at this time, by which it was reckoned that, calculating the duration of life of the several branches of the royal family in direct succession to the crown, there would be nine reigns in the next twenty-one years, and two of them female ones. The Duke of York having died previously to the reigning monarch, left the Duke of Clarence heir-presumptive to the crown, to which he actually succeeded on the demise of George IV. The Duke of Clarence having married in 1818, and having no issue, leaves the succession open to the surviving daughter of the late Duke of Kent, who, in the event of William IV. dying without issue, will succeed to the throne. By this circumstance, the crown of Hanover becomes alienated from that of Britain, unless a matrimonial union can be effected between the young heiress-presumptive to the crown of England and Prince George of Cumberland, who will succeed to the crown of Hanover at the decease of his father. We have, in a former part of this work, briefly

* For a more detailed account of all the circumstances connected with the death and the funeral of the Princess Charlotte, and other interesting events relating to it, we must refer the reader to the Memoirs of the Princess Charlotte, written by the Author of this work, and published by Thomas Kelly.

alluded to the almost incestuous character which would be attached to this marriage; but we doubt not that state policy will overcome every scruple, and the great advantages attendant upon royal legitimacy be held up as an ample equivalent for an infraction of any of the canonical laws relating to marriage.

Amongst the many political questions which were agitated upon the demise of the Princess Charlotte, one of the most important was the incompatibility of the Duke of York, as next in succession to the crown, to hold his situation as Commander-in-chief; and it was assumed, as a thing definitively settled, that the resignation of his Royal Highness of the high office which he held would immediately follow. The correspondence of George III., the Duke of York, and Mr. Addington with the Prince of Wales, in 1803, was referred to, to show that the command was refused to his Royal Highness on constitutional grounds; and, therefore, as a command of a brigade or a regiment on active service was refused the Prince of Wales, as standing next in succession to the crown, how much greater was the breach of the constitution in allowing the successor to the crown to hold the responsible office of Commander-in-chief? The question was, however, got rid of by a quibble; for it was asked, 'Is the Duke of York really next in succession to the crown?' and they who argued that he was were told that, to establish that point, they must forget that there was such a person in existence as the Prince of Wales. The crown continued to belong to the King; and, consequently, the Prince of Wales, and not the Duke of York, was next in succession to it. To make good the position, therefore, of the Duke of York standing in that situation, it was necessary to remove either the King or the Prince Regent; and as that could not be effected by the alarmists for this attack on the constitution, the Duke was allowed to maintain his office, and it must be admitted that his holding it was neither against the practice nor the principle of the constitution*.

* We believe, however, that the late refusal to admit the Duke of Cumberland to a certain command, and which led to his resignation as commander of one of the regiments of Horse-guards, was done entirely on constitutional grounds. On the demise of William IV. without male issue, the Duke of Cumberland succeeds

We are now called upon to notice some circumstances connected with the death of the Princess Charlotte, which excited the most intense curiosity at the time, and to which, even at the present day, some suspicion is attached.

That the Queen and the Princess Charlotte were not on a friendly footing with each other was too notorious to be concealed, nor was it attempted to be concealed. The Princess Charlotte regarded the Queen as one of the most inveterate enemies of her mother; and her Royal Highness was aware of some acts which her Majesty had committed for the purpose of arriving at some information, which were by no means creditable to her; but that her Majesty could for a moment sanction or connive at any diabolical plan for the removal of the Princess Charlotte from this world, must be received with the utmost indignation and horror. Nevertheless, there were some circumstances attending the management of the Princess Charlotte, as well as in the choice of her immediate attendants, which met with the reprobation of the public; and we can with truth affirm that, in our repeated visits to Esher, for the purpose of obtaining information, that there was scarcely an inhabitant of the town who did not shake the head, with all the expression of suspicion, whenever her death was mentioned. This suspicion was, however, only vented in a low murmur; but still distrust sat upon many a countenance, and a circumstance which took place shortly after the Princess' decease, was well calculated to fan that suspicion into a blaze, careless of what might be consumed by its fire. Calumny had been long busy with the names of Sir Richard Croft and Mrs. Griffiths; and some dark insinuations were thrown out, in regard to the conduct of the former, which went to prove that he was a very improper person to be entrusted with so responsible an office as accoucheur to the Princess Charlotte. The afflicting circumstances of her death had excited the particular attention of the members of the medical profession, and especially of those who peculiarly devote themselves to the obstetrical department. By many of them, the grossest errors were discovered in the management of her Royal Highness, during

to the crown of Hanover; his relations, therefore, with this country assume a different character; but this was not the case with the Duke of York.

the period of her labour; and so prevalent was the opinion that she had not been properly treated, that many called loudly upon Parliament to institute an immediate inquiry into the conduct of the medical attendants of her Royal Highness; for, although the Prince Regent and Prince Leopold had directed letters to be written to Sir Richard Croft, expressive of their acknowledgments of the zealous care and indefatigable attention manifested by him towards their deceased relative, yet such letters were regarded as mere matters of form, and also that they had been written before any of the alarming suspicions had been raised or promulgated. The consequence, however, of these rumours—many of which, it must be confessed, were circulated from the most malicious motives—were to Sir Richard Croft of the most fatal nature. The story of his having substituted a male child for a female one, in one of the most noble and opulent families in the kingdom, was revived; and the machinations of the enemies of Sir Richard so far succeeded, that letters were daily received by him from some of the most eminent families, declining a continuation of his professional services. These arrows, shot by premeditated malice, pierced into a spirit peculiarly sensitive, and ultimately led to the fatal catastrophe. An excess of delicate feeling—a susceptibility to painful regret—an extreme anxiousness in respect to the discharge of professional duty;—when such sentiments as these grow too painful for the wounded spirit to bear, and rise into madness, it is difficult to conceive a case appealing more strongly to our sympathy and sorrow.

Agitated as the public mind was, in regard to the fate of the Princess Charlotte, it required no stimulus to increase the excitation, much less one of that astounding nature which, like some destructive wild-fire, circulated through every part of Britain and the Continent, when the suicide of Sir Richard Croft was made public. The dreadful act was immediately construed as arising from the compunctions of a guilty conscience: the public beheld in it a confirmation of their suspicions, and loud and vehement was the expression of their indignation. In addition to which, some very strange reports were circulated respecting Mrs. Griffiths; and it must be admitted that there is still a mystery hanging over the fate of

female, after the decease of the Princess Charlotte, which is sufficient to encourage suspicions of the most alarming kind. It is a natural and universal conclusion that, where there is secrecy or mystery, there is generally an accompaniment of guilt; and, with the predisposition which existed in the public mind to attach, not simply professional ignorance, but positive criminality, to the persons officiating about the Princess Charlotte, it would have been a very politic measure, in those who had it in their power to allay the ferment of the public mind, to have acceded to the wishes of the people, and to have given the utmost publicity to every particular connected with the conduct of the officiating attendants of her Royal Highness. On the contrary, the most guarded secrecy was imposed upon them. The lips appeared to be almost magically closed whenever a question was asked which had any reference to the conduct which was pursued with the Princess Charlotte; and when it was disclosed on the inquest which sat upon Sir Richard Croft, that his derangement arose from the unfortunate event at Claremont, it was said that the act of suicide was not warranted by that event; a professional man might deplore the ill success and the fatal consequences of any act of his professional skill; but if the consciousness accompanied him that he had in every respect fulfilled his duty to the best of his ability, he had ample consolation within himself to protect him from despondency or madness. Life or death was in other hands than his; and if the latter were ordained by Heaven, it was not in human power nor skill to prevent it: and, although he might not be able to look upon the past without feelings of the bitterest sorrow, yet he had received the most flattering acknowledgments from the father and the husband for his services; and, therefore, with these consolatory circumstances operating upon his mind, the public looked for the cause of his insanity to other causes than the mere death of his illustrious patient.

We will not carry this painful subject any further. There is a corroding belief yet existing in many minds, that there is some mystery yet to be revealed, and that the fairest flower of Brunswick's royal line would, in other hands, have lived to

perpetuate their dynasty, and to be a blessing to the country of her birth.

There was a cause which made barrenness a reproach with the women of Israel. There was hope to inspire and animate the fruitful; and each of the virgins of Judah saw herself, in prospect, the blessed mother of the Messiah. The lamented death of the Princess Charlotte, and the consequent extinction of the nation's hope of a direct issue in the right line, appears to have revived this kind of patriarchal feeling in the bosoms of the royal family of Great Britain. The Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, were all of them, at the decease of the Princess Charlotte, unmarried. It was the reluctance of the Prince of Wales to enter the married state that induced the Duke of York to marry. The want of issue from this union, and the advance of a sum of money to pay his debts, prevailed upon the Prince to alter his determination. The decease of his only child effected a considerable change in the breasts of all the royal family, as far as a matrimonial union was concerned, and royal marriages became alarmingly prevalent. To the German courts the British Princes repaired, viewed the marriageable stock on hand, had them, as the Tenth would say, trotted out, and in a few months the delightful information was conveyed to this country, that suitable spouses had been found for the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge. The next grand question was, how these spouses were to be kept, and accordingly Parliament was applied to for an augmentation of the income of the Royal Dukes, with one year's income as a bonus wherewith to commence the married state. In the case of the Duke of Cumberland, the Prince Regent had before received a very severe rebuff, and he was doomed to experience it again on the present occasion. The pliancy of Parliament to the will of the Sovereign in matters of a personal nature, had almost become proverbial; but the Prince Regent was astonished to find that, in some instances respecting himself, a truly asinine sturdiness was exhibited, and a strong mulish disposition not to move in the precise track which he had laid down for them. The subject of the provision for the royal dukes on their marriages came on to be discussed in the House of Commons, on the 15th of April, 1818, when it was pro-

posed by Lord Castlereagh, that the income of the Duke of Clarence should be raised to 22,000*l.* a year, and that of the Dukes of Kent, Cumberland and Cambridge, to 12,000*l.* a year. This arrangement was expressed to be the decided will of the Prince Regent; but it appeared not to have been the decided will of his faithful Commons, for a very indignant feeling was expressed by many of the members on the occasion, and a firm and successful opposition was made to this very modest inroad upon the public purse. The ministers of the crown pronounced the usual eulogium on the loyalty of the people, and their inviolable attachment to the reigning family. The marriages of the Royal Dukes had been consummated under the most auspicious circumstances, and the country had before it the highly pleasing prospect of a legitimate succession to the throne being confirmed; the representatives of the people listened with great attention to the sapient remarks of the haughty minister—they perfectly coincided with him that the English were a loyal people, and that they were in reality attached to the reigning family collectively, but not exactly individually; they did not dispute the delightful prospect of the legitimate succession being confirmed, but they ventured to express an opinion that they might pay too dearly for that prospect, and therefore it was again proposed that the grant to the Duke of Clarence should not exceed 10,000*l.*, and 6000*l.* a year to the three junior dukes. On a division, however, of 193 to 184, the augmentation of the Duke of Clarence was put on a level with that of his brothers, which latter was carried by a very small majority, while the allowance to the Duke of Cumberland was negatived by a majority of 143 to 136.

This spirited resistance of the Commons of England occasioned much chagrin to the Prince Regent. He expected to have made his royal brothers of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge the stalking-horses by which his royal brother of Cumberland was to be let down gently into an augmentation of 6000*l.* per annum. The shepherds of the people took three of the royal flock under their protection, but there was something so tainted and rotten about the other, that they rejected him altogether. In the opinion of the Prince Regent, it was the effect of the most illiberal prejudice; and that the English

people, so far from treating his royal brother with contempt and indignation, ought to have bestowed upon him their entire support and approbation for his magnanimous and courageous conduct, *when the assassin Sellis attempted his life.*

While these proceedings were going on, the side-winds of scandal brought many malignant stories to the ear of the Prince Regent, respecting the habits of the Princess of Wales on the continent. Reports occasionally found their way into the public prints, unfavourable to the conduct, if not to the reputation of the Princess, and before the close of the year 1817, a commission was formally appointed, to examine into the reports which had been furnished by a Baron d'Ompteda, charged with the mean and dishonourable office of being a spy upon the Princess. The substance of these accusations was communicated to her by some of her friends in England, and several of her letters are extant, in which she predicted the attempts which might be made by means of discharged servants, dishonest couriers, or bribed and even pensioned individuals to invent and establish charges which might affect her happiness, her honour, and her future prospects. Little, however, did she imagine, that any person could be found so unprincipled as to invent some of the charges to which they afterward deposed before the Milan Commission, and finally before one of the first tribunals in the world. Against such inventions she could not therefore prepare herself, nor did she expect a formal trial, although she determined that the calumnies which were now propagating against her should not remain unnoticed.

The remains of the Princess Charlotte had been scarcely deposited in the silent tomb, before the secret operations which had been for a long time proceeding against her Royal Highness, to the indelible disgrace of the Regent of England, who was the author of them, began to be displayed, and a commission was formally appointed to examine into the reports which D'Ompteda had transmitted to this country.

The necessity of a Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales was now frequently adverted to, and in a short time its appointment was confirmed. The individuals who were selected as proper persons to conduct such an

inquiry, were Mr. Leach, the present Master of the Rolls; Mr. Cooke, also a barrister; Mr. Powell, a gentleman of private fortune; a Colonel Brown, the impropriety of whose conduct met with general disapprobation, and Lord Stewart, who had repeatedly vilified the character of the Princess, and had even personally insulted her. These persons repaired to Milan; a person of the name of Vimercati being selected as the Italian agent: Colonel Brown was stationed to assist him. Salaries were of course attached to their respective offices, and each individual had his post assigned to him. To Vimercati was, indeed, assigned a great part of the management of this affair, and the nature of his conduct and proceedings is such that it could not be perused without mingled feelings of surprise and horror.

By this commission, witnesses were first obtained, then examined and re-examined, exorbitant prices were offered to them for their testimony, and threats were employed to those who showed, or pretended to show any dislike, subsequently to appear to verify their statements. Rastelli, afterwards a witness, was employed as courier, and recruiting-serjeant for witnesses, and to him was delegated the all-powerful argument of a long purse. Demont, while in the hands of this commission, carried on a correspondence with her sister, who was still in the Queen's service, through the medium of Baron d'Ompteda, for the purpose of obtaining information from her Majesty's servants, and Omati was paid by some one for stealing papers for the use of the commission, from his master, who was her Royal Highness' professional agent at Milan.

The various parts which were taken by the principals in the commission were never distinctly investigated, but the acts of all the inferior agents were subsequently developed in the House of Lords, forming altogether a mass of perjury and villany, unheard of before in any court of British judicature. The unconstitutional, illegal, and improper character of such a commission, it is impossible to express in terms too forcible, or indeed sufficiently to deprecate and loathe. Partaking of the nature of the court of Star Chamber, and all the horrors of the Inquisition, it was first unhappily introduced in the nineteenth century by the government of a nation distinguished for

fertility of soil, for civilization, trade and manufactures, for mental and religious elevation, and for all that can give real dignity to the human mind; in short, it was introduced in England, the land of freedom and of liberty, but happily it is but an anomaly, and the universal detestation in which its nature and operations were held, and yet continue to be held, is the best security to the nation against its future adoption.

It was, indeed, generally expected, that an inquiry into the proceedings of this commission would have succeeded her Majesty's subsequent trial before the House of Lords; but such investigation did not take place, and several of the members of the commission were contented silently to resume their several stations in society, though charged on oath with practices, which, if true, were as improper and even wicked, as malice could devise, and ingenuity, prompted by revenge, could accomplish.

These observations, we know, express the sentiments of the whole English nation, and are so couched, not from any party or improper feeling, but from an abhorrence of any system of legislation unrecognized by the constitution, and legally and morally incorrect.

The whole of the year 1818 was distinguished by the exertions of the Milan commission. The Princess was surrounded by enemies secret or avowed, and it was only at the desire of Mr. Brougham, and some other friends, that she was induced to remain on the continent. It was to her a year of anxiety and trouble, but she lived in retirement, and endeavoured to fortify her mind against the troubles which she apprehended she would have to surmount on the death of George III.

On returning to the events which took place in the year 1818 in this country, the most memorable was the death of Queen Charlotte. The nature of the disorder under which her Majesty laboured was so unequivocally marked as to admit of neither doubt nor hope. The anasarcous symptoms, indeed, had been so long apparent, and the consequences foreseen, that ministers, before the dissolution of Parliament, thought it prudent to bring in a bill to amend the Regency Act, with respect to the custody of his Majesty's person, in case of the demise of the Queen. But, although it was evident

to every other person that this event could be at no great distance, the royal patient herself entertained hopes of at least a partial recovery. It was, however, about the 2nd of November that her Majesty was apprized of her danger for the first time, by a communication made by order of the Regent, and in as delicate a manner as possible. Her Majesty was considerably shocked at the intimation, and immediately interrogated her physicians as to any immediate danger; but they qualified their answer in such a manner, that the apprehensions of her Majesty subsided, and she began to make preparations for her removal to Windsor. This project, however, she never was able to put in execution; for it was evident to all that her dissolution could not be long protracted. Her sufferings were very acute; and, on the 17th of November, the following bulletin appeared.

'The Queen's state last night was of great and imminent danger. Her Majesty continues very ill this morning.'

The groom had not left the palace with the bulletin more than three-quarters of an hour, when her Majesty became so much worse, that a second messenger was despatched to Carlton House, to request the immediate attendance of the Prince Regent. A mortification, which had taken place in her Majesty's right heel, now threatened immediate dissolution: her respiration was laboriously performed, and the tension in the side was painful to suffocation. On the arrival of the Prince Regent and the Duke of York, Sir H. Halford had an audience of their Royal Highnesses in the drawing-room: the Princess Augusta and the Duchess of Gloucester were also present. When Sir Henry announced that there was no longer any hope of their august parent surviving the paroxysm, they immediately hastened to attend her last moments. For more than half an hour they remained surrounding the bed, in a state of anxious suspense, the Queen lying before them totally insensible; and she had for some time breathed her last, before the Princesses, absorbed in grief, had ceased supporting her. Sir Henry Halford at length announced that all was over; and they were led from the chamber by their royal brothers. The Queen died at twenty minutes

past one o'clock, November 17th, having survived her royal grand-daughter only a few days above a year. It has been said that the Archbishop of Canterbury administered the sacrament to her Majesty on the morning of her death; but she died without having partaken of that ordinance. It is true his Grace was sent for by the same messenger that was despatched to the Prince Regent, but his Grace was not at Lambeth; and some time elapsed before it was ascertained that he was attending some meeting in Great George-street, on the business of building new churches. When found, his Grace had no carriage in waiting: he was therefore compelled to send for a chaise, by which he reached Kew about half an hour after the demise of the royal sufferer.

Her Majesty was buried at Windsor on the 2nd of December: the Regent and the Duke of York met the procession at Frogmore. The Prince was the chief mourner; his fine commanding figure and majestic carriage appeared most strikingly in the solemn scene. His 'inky cloak' was long, and of 'a great amplitude of folds.' On his left breast was a star of brilliants, shining most resplendently among his sables, above which he wore four splendid collars of knighthood. Thus did his love of show and splendour accompany him even to the grave of his mother. He appeared, however, to be deeply affected; it is also said that he wept and sobbed aloud; and it must be confessed that as a mother, and especially to him, she deserved the tribute of the most poignant grief. Lord Liverpool, who carried the sword of state before him, is reported to have observed that his Royal Highness' tears bedimmed the splendid jewellery of the collars of knighthood, which hung in successive rows over his black cloak. His Lordship was not not given much to hyperbole, but we denounce him guilty of it in the present instance. What an affecting episode must this have been in this scene of royal woe—his sorrow put out the golden glister of regal pomp!

The character of Queen Charlotte has been so often laid before the public, and painted in such opposite colours, that by one hand she is represented as standing on the very summit of human virtue, and by another as having little or no virtue at all. If, however, the extent of her virtue is to be estimated

by the grief which was displayed by the public at her death, a very small portion indeed belonged to her. Her funeral did excite some little curiosity, as every royal pageant will naturally do; but the tokens of regret at her loss were heard only in whispers, and in many instances by a marked and studied neglect of the usual respect of putting on mourning. Her maternal virtues have been highly extolled, and perhaps there are few women who fulfilled the duties of a wife and mother with more exactness, or with greater scrupulousness than Queen Charlotte; but she was, in some instances, a partial mother. The Prince of Wales was her idol: in her opinion his vices were mere juvenile foibles; and the manner in which she espoused his cause against the Princess of Wales tended more to alienate the good opinion of the people, than any other transaction of her life.

Queen Charlotte was never what could be called a handsome woman. She certainly possessed an agreeableness of person, which made a strong impression upon those who were admitted to her presence; and this pleasing appearance, with an uncommon liveliness of the visual organs, continued even when the infirmities of extreme senility, and the encroaching ravages of an incurable disease, occasioned her to stoop very much, and when, in the striking language of the royal moralist, she found 'the grasshopper to have become a burden.'

One of the first acts of the government after the demise of the Queen was to appoint a *custos* of the King's person; and this appointment gave rise to a most scandalous job, which tended by no means to increase the popularity of the Prince Regent. It was universally allowed that the Duke of York was the most proper person to fill the office of guardian of the royal person, and his Royal Highness had no objection to take upon himself the duties of the office. He said, the ardent affection which he felt for his afflicted parent, his anxious desire to administer to his comforts, and particularly the relation in which he stood to the country, would induce him to waive every personal consideration, and, painful as his task might be, to accomplish it to the utmost of his ability. But, then, could the good and generous people of England suppose that he could take upon himself such an arduous duty, in a

degree *gratis?* Was it to be expected that he was to pay for the transportation of his royal person from London to Windsor, and from Windsor to London, from his own private revenue? Was an affectionate and dutiful son to attend upon his father in his mental darkness, and not be paid for it? Was no remuneration to be awarded him for loss of time, and other sacrifices which he would be obliged to make in the strict performance of his duty? No! said the good and generous people of England, or their representatives for them; the country cannot expect you to perform all those services, and not to be requited for them. Travelling is expensive—time, especially as it was employed by the candidate *custos*, of the highest value; and then, his extraordinary qualifications for the office—were they to be called into action, and not meet with an adequate remuneration? No, repeated the good and generous people of England; our liberality is too great, our sense of justice too acute, our knowledge of your qualifications too well confirmed, to hesitate in awarding a most ample remuneration. The minister at the time, therefore, came down to Parliament, and, having eulogised the truly filial character of the Duke of York, his disinterestedness, and his unexceptionable ability for the performance of the duty of guardian of his father's person, moved that the sum of 10,000*l.* per annum should be granted to the Duke of York, to defray the extraordinary expenses which must be necessarily incurred in assuming and exercising the duties of his highly-responsible office.

Perhaps no motion which had any reference to the pecuniary affairs of any branch of the royal family ever met with such an indignant opposition. It was justly considered as a vile and scandalous job; and it was deeply deplored that the malady of the sovereign should be made the stalking-horse for giving the Duke of York, his dutiful and affectionate son, an addition of 10,000*l.* a year to his income, under the plea of remuneration for travelling expenses, loss of time, &c., occasioned by the performance of an act, which any other son but a royal one would have considered it a part of his duty to have performed without any remuneration whatever. The Duke of York was at this time known to be in the most embarrassed circumstances—a complete insolvent; his personal

property was assigned, under bills of sale, to fictitious creditors, to save it from the grasp of his real ones. A few days before the motion for the grant of the 10,000*l.* a year was made, his carriage, himself in it, was taken in execution in the open streets; and with these circumstances staring the people in the face, the motion for the grant was looked upon as nothing more than a scandalous attempt on the part of the ministers to extract so large a sum from the public purse for an avowed purpose, which actually entailed disgrace upon the individual who accepted of it, standing, as he did, in the near relation of a son to a father. Mr. Tierney calculated the actual expense to which the royal guardian might be put as below 200*l.*; and was the country to be called upon to pay the enormous sum of 10,000*l.* per annum, for services which ought to be performed by some responsible officer of the crown, by virtue of the office which he held? Against this the plea of delicacy was urged. The feelings of the afflicted sovereign might be outraged if, on returning to society, he should find that his privacy had been intruded upon by any other person than a member of his own family; from which statement it was inferred that the actual expense attending the guardianship of the royal person was 200*l.*, and that delicacy was to cost the people 9800*l.* Notwithstanding, however, the indignation with which the motion was met—notwithstanding the popular ebullition which it excited—it was ultimately carried; and the Duke of York perhaps sank the lowest, with the exception of *one* of his royal brothers, in the estimation of the public.

During the severe and stormy debates which took place on this motion, the fact was elicited, that no hope whatever remained of the King's recovery, although state-policy might assume the possibility of it. An additional objection was therefore raised to the grant to the Duke of York; for, as the malady of the King was one which had no great effect upon life, his Royal Highness might enjoy the augmentation to his income for a considerable number of years. This, however, turned out not to be the case, as his Royal Highness only received it for two years.

During the year 1819, domestic woe, distress, and discon-

tent hovered over the country. It must, indeed, be allowed that the foreign policy of the British cabinet was distinguished by the purest principles of international justice. No ambitious aspirations after aggrandizement—no sordid views of self-interest, but an absolute abandonment of private motives, and a sacrifice of personal benefit to the peace of Europe and the general good. In the administration, however, of domestic affairs, the case was widely different. Those factious spirits, whose efforts for disturbance had been foiled by the splendour of events at the close of the war, eagerly availed themselves of the discontent and difficulty which naturally followed the establishment of peace.

The reflecting part of the community agreed that the valour of her armies had not contributed more than the forbearance of her cabinet, to the glory of the nation. But, on the other hand, there were not wanting those who talked loudly of abandoned rights, and who accused the foreign minister for selling the national advantage for personal distinction. Where, they asked, is the indemnity to Britain for the blood and treasures she has lavished in a quarrel not her own? Where are the exclusive commercial privileges that might have been demanded from restored monarchs and subsidised nations, for whose gain the flower of her youth and the fruit of her industry had been squandered with such heedless prodigality?—they regarded England as the too generous individual who, in carving out some rich benefice, had forgotten or neglected to preserve a portion for himself. In many instances in the late war, England appears to have made conquests merely for the satisfaction of restoring them in a better condition than she conquered them; this is peculiarly the case with the West India Islands belonging to the French,—the capture of them cost us blood and treasure; English capital and industry were employed in their improvement, and that which was thought of sufficient value to capture, was surrendered to the original proprietors as things not worth keeping.

The extensive and complicated channels into which the stream of commerce had been carried under the force-pump influence of an artificial credit, remained dry and stagnant when that impulse was withdrawn. A recurrence to cash pay-

ments by the Bank was loudly called for by those who did not or would not calculate the consequences of such a measure. The current of circulation rushed back upon the heart, and the sudden revulsion overthrew the system. Part of these evils was present, a part in prospect only. Their immediate pressure weighed most heavily on the 'operative' classes, a name by which the handicraftsman and the artisan began to designate themselves. The discharged soldier, the unemployed sailor, alike rejected from the useless war-ship, and the unfreighted merchantman, added an idle member to the family of the already starving weaver or the miner, exasperated by diminished wages, and corrupted by abridged labour. The disbanding of the militia had sent back to their native parishes thousands of unemployed and unemployable hands, and who were looked upon as so many intruders into a vineyard, of which the produce is small, and that produce with difficulty obtained. The product of the manufacturer lay undemanded in his storehouse. The farmer sold the crop that he had cultivated at an enormous expense, for a high price indeed, above its real value, but much beneath the demands of the landowner, and the claims of the luxuriant style of living which the war had introduced. The artificial price of bread, enforced by the legislature, was the most galling battery in this siege of troubles. Thus impelled by want, goaded by hunger, annoyed by an apparent want of feeling in their rulers, and instigated by the artifices of those to whom all rule was hateful, the people, in the year 1819, broke out into something strongly resembling rebellion. The House of Commons was pointed out as the seat of disease in the political body; and a thorough purification or entire excision of this member was decided on. The constitutional means of petition to the legislature was not neglected, the demand for reform was echoed in addresses to the executive, and strong language of remonstrance with the Regent was more than once adopted. Property and influence rallied round the throne, the agitators were denounced as traitors, their misguided followers were advised and threatened, but the imposthume had gained its height, and the corrupted matter broke forth at length, spreading contagion.

This alarming state of things brought on at last the Man

chester riots, which bore, in all their features, the character of a civil war; it was the strong arm of military power against the voice of a distressed and suffering people. Blood was shed, Englishman against Englishman, the yeomanry of the country fleshed their maiden swords in the bodies of their compatriots—the leader of the assembly, Mr. Hunt, was taken into custody, and the yeomanry drove the last individual from the ground at the point of the sabre.

No question of doubt whatever exists, that the yeomanry went too far, but nevertheless the direct approbation of the ministers was given for their conduct. In the trials that ensued, the juries were accused of leaning too much to their side; and the worst result of this disastrous day, where human blood was shed on one side, and social order threatened on the other, was, that confidence was shaken in the tribunals of the country, and cruelty or indifference to the sufferings of the people imputed to its rulers. The massacre at Petersfield, as it was popularly called, gave a new character to the meetings of the people, and threw a vast weight of public opinion into the scale of the reformers. Several respectable corporate bodies, amongst which were the Livery of London, carried their complaints on this subject to the foot of the throne. There, however, they were coldly received; the times were full of danger, but either an alarm beyond the importance of its cause existed, or the ministry were acquainted with matters connected with these risings unknown to the people.

In Parliament, very opposing views were taken on these subjects, and very lengthened discussions ensued. This was the most unpopular period of the regency; and with that degree of obstinacy imputed to his family, but miscalled firmness and dignity, the Regent refused all concession and conciliation. A variety of bills passed in the course of the session, placing greater power at the discretion of the ministry, and establishing the most prompt means of defeating conspiracy and suppressing sedition.

In all these tumults the Regent became one of the chief subjects of reproach; but the transactions to which they led belong more properly to the public annals of the reign than to the memoirs of the individual.

The last year of the regency ended as it began, with present discontent and gloomy anticipations; yet, at the beginning of the year 1820, the country was tranquil, the agricultural interests were indeed still depressed, but the cultivators of the soil are always the least impatient under distress and disappointment. Commerce revived in some degree, and the determined measures of the ministers subdued the idle and the daring, and encouraged the peaceful and the industrious.

It was truly said by the author of the Night Thoughts—

> When sorrows come, they come not single spies,
> But in battalions;—

and the Prince Regent of England now presented a living example of the truth of the remark. The hand of affliction appeared to press sorely upon him. He had seen his only child laid in her tomb, and, before a year had elapsed, he was called upon to follow his mother to the same long resting-place, where royal greatness vanishes, and pomp and pageantry become a mockery. From the year 1817, death appeared to run riot in the palaces; one victim falling after another, as if its aim were to extinguish royalty altogether, to render their abodes desolate, and to break asunder every tie of fraternity which bound the family together. The Prince Regent had lost his mother and his child, and he was now doomed to sustain the loss of a brother. The Duke of Kent, the fourth son of the King, died on the 23rd of January, 1820, in the fifty-third year of his age, of an inflammation of the lungs, from neglected cold, communicated by wet feet. He left behind a widow, the sister of Prince Leopold, and a daughter, then only eight months old, the present heiress-presumptive to the crown. The striking similarity of fate between the brother and sister, in their connexion with the royal family of England, was not unnoticed. The Duke of Kent was not a politician: he seldom appeared beyond the shade of private life, or presiding at the anniversaries of some of the great charitable institutions, in some of which he appeared to take particular interest. His social virtues were many, and he was charitable; but in his military capacity, the rigour of his discipline often reached the verge of cruelty. In no command

with which he was ever trusted could he scarcely be tolerated; and although he might be amiable in the eyes of his intimate friends, and die regretted by his dependants, yet the army had imbibed a hatred of his name, and he was not considered as the soldier's friend. He had been educated in Germany, the very worst school for a British prince, and passed two years of his life in that country, and two in Italy. He commanded the Seventh Fusileers in the garrison of Gibraltar: he afterwards visited Canada, the United States, the West Indies; and in all this service he supported the character of a soldier in his own person, but was perhaps rather too much of the martinet in regard to others. He was deservedly unpopular as Governor of Gibraltar, where his acts bordered so much on tyranny, that, to secure the tranquillity of the garrison, it was found necessary to recall him. In his own establishment at home, he was as precise and mechanical as at the head of his regiment. Everything was performed as by word of command; and a morning parade of the domestics was as regularly held, as if he had been at the head of a regiment. As a philanthropist, however, and the friend of the different charities for relieving the many wants and infirmities incident to humanity, he far surpassed any other member of the royal family. He never courted popularity for the mere sake of it; and the following circumstance is so elucidatory of his character, that in justice to him we cannot omit it.'

A dissenting clergyman of eminence, Dr. Collyer, took the liberty, about the year 1807, to represent to the Duke of Kent how much good he might do by coming more forward in public, and giving his royal countenance and support to various institutions which were in preparation, or in progress of establishment, for ameliorating the condition of the people, and assisting the aged and the infirm. His Royal Highness replied in the following words: 'I need not assure you, who know my sentiments, of my disposition to do all in my power to promote every undertaking of the kind. I am little fond of public display; but if by that I could further their prosperity in the least, I would not, at any ordinary time, shrink from it. As circumstances are at this moment, however, I am not at liberty to do as I could wish. I cannot, in duty to other

bers of my family, keep for the present too much out of the public view; for I should never wish it to be said that, by courting popularity, I contributed, in the slightest degree, to increase the odium into which a brother (alluding to the Duke of York) unhappily suffers. Time, Sir, will do him justice, and it will then be time enough for me to come forward in the way you wish.' Almost the last act of the Duke of Kent was, the perusal of a letter from the Prince Regent, to whom the Duke had given some offence, for the credit which he gave to the claims of a certain lady, the *soi-disant* Princess Olive of Cumberland, to be admitted as one of the legitimates into the royal circle. The Prince Regent took alarm at this introduction of a new member of the royal family, and he castigated his royal brother very severely for even giving the semblance of his sanction to so spurious a claim. The death of the Duke following almost immediately, put an end to the dispute, and also to the introduction of Mrs. Serres to the distinguished honour of being admitted a member of the royal family.

The fruits of the royal marriages contracted on the decease of the Princess Charlotte, began to display themselves in the year 1820, a nephew and a niece being born to the Prince Regent by the Duchesses of Kent and Cumberland. The hopes of the advocates for the legitimate succession of the House of Brunswick began to revive, and England looked forward for a continuance of those inestimable blessings which the country has enjoyed under the gracious rule of so glorious and virtuous a family. We cannot be supposed to speak ironically on this subject, when we have it in our power to announce that a blessing has been conferred upon the nation, by the appointment of Prince George of Cumberland, a boy of ten years of age, to the rank of Lieutenant-General * ! ! The Monarch who held out his hand to be kissed by such a warrior, must have been warmed

* May we be so impertinent as to inquire if this beardless Lieutenant-General receives the pay belonging to his rank, and, if so, do the English people pay it? A Lieutenant-General, whose boyish strength will scarcely enable him to bear the weight of his uniform and his sabre, carries us back to the good olden times of England, when, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of her education, a Miss Wade was on the Admiralty books as a midshipman. The latter case appears rather farcical, but not more so than this gallant, weather-beaten Lieutenant-General kissing hands on his promotion—and all this in the enlightened era of 1831.—*Oh, jam satis!*

with a blaze of enthusiasm and pride when he came to reflect that his throne was defended by such a potent arm; and the people, who may soon be called upon to fight for the maintenance of that throne, may divest themselves of all fear for the issue of the contest, when led on by such an experienced General. It is impossible to treat a subject of this nature without ridicule. The benefits of experience seem to be lost upon the royal family of England. It ought to be their study to anglicise, if we may be allowed the expression, this growing scion of royalty, who ere long may sit on the throne of the country, and not so to germanize him as to render him ridiculous by an appointment to a rank for which his age disqualifies him, and his head incapacitates him. One ounce of good sterling John Bull plainness far exceeds in value a ton of German pomposity and pride; and a Prince who is rearing for the throne of England ought to be educated in a school where English manners and English habits can be acquired, where the knowledge of the art of governing is preferred to the art of putting on a hussar cloak, and where an acquaintance with the laws and polity of the country supersedes an acquaintance with military fooleries and military fopperies.

From this digression we turn to the royal palaces, and there we find the patriarch of the family on his death-bed. George III. expired on the 29th of January, 1820. The strong constitution of his Majesty had supported him to within a few weeks of his decease, in spite of the dreadful malady under which he laboured. Early in the month of January symptoms of decay began to manifest themselves, which were considerably accelerated by a diarrhœa. There was loss of flesh, and decay of strength; no food could invigorate the exhausted frame, the venerable couch was not blessed with refreshing sleep, and a sense of intolerable cold defied all the means of warmth that skill could contrive or wealth could purchase. His Majesty retained his characteristic activity till within two days of his change. His sufferings were not protracted, and the approach of death was not embittered by pain. No lucid interval had cheered or distracted the last moments of his life: his long reign on earth was ended—his character becomes the property of posterity.

This patriarch and father of kings may, in some particulars, be considered as among the best men of his time and country; his long life and good bodily health were the indubitable proofs of a sound constitution, preserved and maintained by temperance. He rose early, used vigorous exercise, despised feasting, and knew no long fasts. He was fond of farming, attached to hunting, and devoted to his family. Splendour had no charms for him; but it is to be feared that he loved money for its own sake. In morals he was strict, but not more so in precept than in practice. His mind was not of the highest order, nor had it been highly cultivated; but his understanding was sound, and it had been exercised more in the study of men than in books. His opinions were in some degree fettered by antiquated prejudices, the consequences of a restricted and confined system of education. He was firm to obstinacy, in purpose attached, and unwavering in friendship, uncompromising and direct towards those whom he did not love. The honour and happiness of his people were ever in his view, but the light in which he saw those objects was often strange and new, in some instances approaching the eccentric; and the means which he employed to gain his end were not always the most reasonable, nor likely to ensure success. He was a friend to rational liberty, yet no man was more jealous of his prerogative. In the war of opinion which agitated Europe during the greater part of his long reign, George III. stood nearly alone; but he maintained his ground, and his principles triumphed in the end. Men of various opinions took the lead in his councils, but it was the opinion of the king that prevailed. Whether glory or disaster crowned his efforts, he bore all with temperance; indeed, in some cases his disasters appeared to invigorate him to fresh exertions, and to an obstinate perseverance in a line of conduct from which discomfiture was almost certain. In his administration of public affairs, there was more of the man than the monarch in him. George III. was a patron of the arts, but a niggard in his patronage. He was fond of painting, but no critic in the art. Portraits he understood and relished, and he was liberal of his praise and encouragement of rising talent. He had little taste for sculpture, and on the whole his genius was more mechanical

than scientific. In music he loved the simple and the devotional, but he could not endure the elaborate nor the intricate: for this reason the Italian Opera was seldom honoured with his presence, but he enjoyed a play, and it was a species of enjoyment that he very frequently partook of. His admiration of mechanics condescended to be amused with a pantomimic trick, and in a theatre he preferred laughter to tears. He delighted in all sorts of drolleries, and the exquisite manner in which he seemed to enjoy the swallowing of a carrot by Follett, the clown, was the subject of a most laughable caricature. He could be jocose sometimes even at the head of his levees, as was the case when Colonel Macleod of Colbecks was introduced, attired in the Highland dress; and bowing exceedingly low, the kilt was not sufficiently long to prevent a certain part of the gallant Highlandman's form being displayed—on which his Majesty exclaimed, 'Keep the ladies in front, keep the ladies in front!' In his general conduct, George III. was affable, kind, and familiar to all beneath him; and what he said of his horse, he might have applied with equal truth to his most confidential servant: 'I know his worth, and I treat him accordingly.' The King was always resolute and courageous—when assassination levelled the knife or aimed the pistol at his breast, or when faction threatened the destruction of his political existence. His strongest aversion was levelled at Mr. Fox, whom he regarded as the enemy of his station and his person; and it was in the ascendency which this great statesman obtained in the councils of the Prince of Wales, that the schism originated between the royal parent and his undutiful and wayward son. Burke, after the revolution, and Sheridan by his conduct at the time of the mutiny, regained his confidence, but Fox he appears never to have forgiven.

The last attack of his mental malady is traceable to his parting interview with the Princess Amelia, at which she presented him with a ring. There was an interesting mystery about this scene, which it would not be decent to remove. It need only be remarked, that not one of the *guesses* of the moment was at all felicitous. In his later years blindness was added to his mental deprivation, and he was deaf, yet in his darkness and solitude he talked to himself of past events and

characters remembered with melancholy accuracy. He often conversed with his attendants, but never seemed to forget that he was a king.

The royal body was committed to the family vault in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, on the 16th of February, amidst a concourse of the great and noble of the land; but illness and the advice of his physicians prevented his successor from paying the last tribute to his father. The Duke of York was chief mourner.

The usual ceremony of proclamation and salutation announced the accession of George IV., and another important era commences.

The death of George III. brought only a change of title to his successor. All the essential attributes of royalty were his already, and had been his for years before. The first public act of the new King was to summon a privy council, at which the emblems of office were surrendered by the public servants of the crown, to whom, it is unnecessary to add, they were immediately restored. The cabinet and the ministry remained as before. The Earl of Harrowby was President of the Council, and Lord Eldon Lord High Chancellor. The Earl of Liverpool was First Lord of the Treasury, and Viscount Castlereagh Secretary of State for the Home Department. These names, with those of Canning, Sidmouth, Vansittart, &c., involved themselves in the history of both reigns. The national debt, on the accession of George IV. was 633,031,562*l.* 12*s.* 11*d*, and the annual expenditure was 69,488,899*l.* 13*s.* 7½*d.*; the actual net produce of the kingdom being 74,796,196*l.* 4*s.* 3¾*d.*

At the meeting of the council, his Majesty took the prescribed oaths for the security of the Church of Scotland, and the following day was agreed on for the proclamation.

Accordingly, at 12 o'clock, a royal salute, fired in St. James' Park, announced the accession of George IV. At the same moment, the Garter King at Arms, the venerable Sir Isaac Heard, appeared in the full dress of his office, and surrounded with the ceremonial paraphernalia: his Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief and the other Princes of the blood, the nobility of England, and a vast concourse of commons, were assembled in front of Carlton House. The proclamation was

read, and the concluding 'God save the King!' was reiterated with emphasis by the royal and noble personages who stood around the herald, and echoed by the military and the assembled multitude. The proclamation was repeated at Temple-bar, where the authorities of the city awaited its approach. The ceremonial mummery of ancient times was faithfully preserved; and after sundry knocks, queries, and responses, the gates of the city were opened to the besiegers, and the gaudy mass of mortality moved onwards to the assigned stations, where the necessary forms were again submitted to, till this cumbrous and uncouth mode of announcement had communicated to all concerned the important intelligence which it was its province to convey.

How mingled and contradictory were the feelings of this moment! The death of the King had awakened sorrow and submissive gratitude. The attendant ceremonies which linked the chain of succession suggested a strange mixture of contempt and veneration. The situation of the reigning monarch excited but very little sympathy and affection, while suspense and sorrowful anticipation brooded in the minds of the people: the policy, domestic and foreign, of the new King was known to the people, therefore they had no amelioration of their grievances to expect. The same boundless extravagance, the same reckless indifference to their complaints, the same system of oppressive taxation—all were to be continued; and the accession of George IV. was regarded as a mere every-day event, from which neither good nor advantage was to be derived. One benefit, however, the people were certain of, and that was, that the head of their new monarch was not likely to be turned by his assumption of kingly power; for, in fact, he had already enjoyed it to its full extent, all but in name. A man who is by nature vain always becomes more vain as he rises in the scale of rank and power; and few men commit a wise action under the influence of vanity. It is in the moral world as it is in the social one—the greatest good is generally chequered by the greatest ills; and the highest rank in society is generally invested with the most appalling dangers. Even a moment's assumption of rank seems to bring with it its attendant evils. It is by no means wonderful that light heads should be turned;

but that that of Buonaparte, for example, which contained more brain than the heads of any two European kings, and more intellectual power than all of them—that such a head should have been turned by the accession of power, is a striking illustration of the preceding remark.

The flattery of interested and servile sycophants was one of the primary causes of the ruin of the character of George IV., when Prince of Wales; and when Napoleon's senators abandoned him and his fortunes, and in a memorable document complained of his despotism, he acknowledged it as candidly as he ascribed it justly to the spell of their incessant flatteries. Here, then, we approach the very cause of that fatuity from which it is so difficult to separate kingly power. A state unnaturally elevated above all fellow-men—the anticipated supply of every want which that state commands—the foretaste of every pleasure ere it be desired—the consequent inutility of every mental effort—the *ennui* which must ensue—the pride, fastidiousness, and morbid irritability in which the mind is consequently plunged—the influence of these upon attendants—the scarcely evitable reaction of their minds in every supple and conciliating device, in every artful and debasing flattery—the absence of all sincerity—the absolute proscription of simple and manly truth—the adoption of gaudy pageantry, which occupies the eye and ear, but touches not the heart, nor the mind—the heartlessness, the coldness, the worthlessness of such a state—such is the precise succession of those circumstances which, sooner or later, annihilate mind in hereditary royalty and ancient dynasty. The founder of a dynasty who is agitated by plans of succession, or acts of usurpation, or schemes of conquest, may escape this degradation of mind, and so may also the prince on whom misfortune frowns; but it is lamentably true that, in general, the very next successor of such a prince is an imbecile, precisely because the achievements of his predecessors seem to have rendered it unnecessary for him to *think*.

How far the foregoing remarks are applicable to George IV., on his accession to the throne, may be gathered from the first actions which he committed. He was obliged to follow the dull, mill-horse course pursued on such occasions; but flattery

had spoiled him as a prince—neither misfortune nor adversity could reform him—experience could not correct him. As a regent, so he was a king—his tastes and habits were confirmed and deeply rooted; and, inflated with the ridiculous principle that kings can do no wrong, he regarded himself amenable to no other tribunal for his conduct than his own caprice and whim. Fatigued with the exertions of state—borne down with affliction by his family misfortunes—and peculiarly situated with regard to his domestic arrangements—he was attacked by an inflammatory complaint, ascribed to cold, and which brought within a narrow compass the throne, the sick bed, and the grave. The strength of a wonderful constitution with which he was blessed by nature, and the skill and care of his attendants, preserved so valuable a life to the nation. The first bulletin of his illness was issued on the 1st of February, and the last on the 10th; but his complaint left considerable pain and weakness. He was convalescent on the 12th, and on the 17th he received the loyal and dutiful addresses of condolence and congratulation from the city of London, on which occasion Sheriff Parkins declared his Majesty to be one of the most robust looking men in the kingdom. 'His limbs,' said the sheriff, 'retain their fine proportions, and his eye its wonted vivacity.'

The Parliament met on the 17th, and it was recommended by ministers to advise its own dissolution, which recommendation was adopted. It was then prorogued till the 13th of March, when on that day it was dissolved by proclamation. His Majesty's continued weakness prevented him from meeting the old Parliament, which he regretted in the Commissioners' speech at the prorogation: at the same time they were complimented for the effectual measures they had taken to suppress discontent and treasonable practices, and reference was made to the flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy, which vindicated the justice and expediency of the measures to which it had become necessary to resort.

Little more than a month elapsed, before the King, in Parliament, met the newly-chosen representatives of his people. He delivered a long speech on the occasion, full of promises and flatteries, and a great deal of empty sound, signifying

nothing. The substance of it was, an assurance that in paternal solicitude for the welfare of the nation, and an increasing attention to the public interest, the King would follow the great example of his father; peace with foreign powers; economy in the estimates, but no reduction in the army; a generous assurance (but broken on the very first occasion) that the regal dignity should be supported without addition to the burdens of the people; confidence restored throughout the country by the vigilance of the magistrates and the firmness of the House; a determination to maintain the public peace and tranquillity; the pressure of distress unhappily aggravated, and the period of relief deferred, by turbulence and intimidation; but not a word respecting the reduction of taxation, or the erasure of a few human leeches from the Pension List; a spirit of loyalty (to be found only in the heads of the ministers and the conceit of the Monarch); submission to the laws, and attachment to the constitution inculcated; and the concluding hope expressed, that the misguided might be brought to see the error of their ways. On this occasion a new throne was erected in the House of Lords, according to the old political principle—a new king a new throne; and other improvements were made in that edifice. His Majesty was dressed in purple, embroidered with gold; and looked in good spirits, but not in good health. His first levee was held on the 10th of May, and was attended by one thousand eight hundred persons. On the 6th of June following, an act was passed for the support of his Majesty's dignity; and in a short time afterwards the Gazette announced a commission for hearing and determining claims for suit and service at the approaching coronation. The announcement of this event gave an immediate and important stimulus to trade. Great preparations were made in Westminster Abbey, from which strangers began to be excluded even during divine service. On the 12th of July, the coronation was postponed by proclamation, no ostensible cause being given, but the existing one soon displayed itself in the person of the Queen of England. No definitive day was fixed for the performance of the ceremony; and it was a question, whether, under the then existing circumstances, it would take place at all.

In a previous part of this work, we have had the unpleasant

task imposed upon us of frequently alluding to the debts of the late King when Prince of Wales, and also to the loans which he obtained from several foreign Princes. At the time of his succession to the crown, many of these loans were still unliquidated, particularly that which had been obtained from the Duke of Orleans, the father of the present King of the French. This loan amounted to several millions of livres, the interest of which even had not been regularly paid ; but considering that the circumstance of a King of England being in debt to a foreign Prince might form rather a curious subject for future historians, it was judged politic to liquidate the debt of the Duke of Orleans, and accordingly it was one of the first acts which George IV. performed after his accession to the throne. We have reason to know that some other obligations given when Prince of Wales were also cancelled ; but no trace is existing of any part of those debts being liquidated which were known under the title of the foreign bonds, and which George IV., when Prince of Wales, bound himself to pay on his accession to the throne.

Six months had scarcely elapsed from the demise of George III., before another death occurred in the royal family, in the person of the Duchess of York. She had lived for some time in a state of separation from her husband, but they always entertained for each other a gentle regard ; their mutual attentions were marked by kindness and politeness, which grew up into something strongly resembling affection as her illness increased. The Duke was present at her last moments. The illness which death relieved had been of long and painful continuance. Her life was chiefly passed in retirement. Her Royal Highness was amiable, agreeable, and of unbounded charity. The poor, and sick, and aged blessed her for support, relief, and comfort, while their children owed to her the establishment of useful endowments for their education. She was merciful to the beast, almost bordering on eccentricity. The tameness and plenty of game, and the number of wild creatures on the demesne of Oatlands, became proverbial. To the canine species she was particularly attached, her apartments resembling a dog-kennel, rather than the abode of a British Princess. She was supposed to have the least foot of any female

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in England. She was a great favourite of George III. as well as of the late King; and it was at a ball at Oatlands, in the year 1812, that the Prince of Wales sprained his ankle in dancing with his daughter the Princess Charlotte. Another and a different change in the royal family occurred at the latter end of this year, a Princess being born to the Duke of Clarence. At his Majesty's desire she received the name of Elizabeth, but her life was only of three months duration.

The actors in the forthcoming tragedy of the Milan Commission were now nearly perfect in their parts, and they hastened back to England to rehearse them before the King in person. Orders were immediately issued to prepare the necessary machinery, as no doubt was now entertained that materials sufficient had been collected to bring about the much-desired catastrophe.

In regard to the Princess of Wales herself, she was placed in a state of the greatest embarrassment. By the demise of George III. she became, by marriage, the Queen-Consort of England, and was accordingly invested with all the rights and privileges attached to that exalted station. But whether she would ever have claimed them, or whether she would have renounced that mode of life to which she had so long accustomed herself, appears to be uncertain; and had it not been for indignities and affronts which she conceived were offered to her, and to which she could not conscientiously submit, without compromising her dignity as Queen of one of the first kingdoms of the world, and her general character as a female, it is perhaps probable that she would have remained in a state of comparative obscurity, nor again have entered into the presence of those individuals by whom she conceived herself to be so openly insulted and degraded. At the death, however, of George III., measures inimical to her peace were immediately adopted with vigour and promptitude, and a longer residence on the Continent was impossible.

A few days after the death of George III.. Mr. Brougham despatched Mr. Sicard with the intelligence to the Princess of Wales, and with directions as to the conduct it would be proper for her to manifest. Public anxiety, as to the nature of such advice, and the conduct she would adopt, now began

to be displayed; and the daily journals, according to their political bais, vied with each other in lauding her character and pitying her situation, or in reproaching her for the conduct she was alleged to have displayed.

Mr. Sicard met with her Majesty at Leghorn, and she was now sensible that with the death of George III. she was deprived of every friend in the royal family of Great Britain; she therefore hesitated not to express her doubts that, unless she acceded to the propositions of those who were inimical to her, she would again become the subject of secret injuries and private, or even public persecution. On the receipt of the information communicated to her by Mr. Sicard, she wrote to Mr. Brougham, stating her intentions of returning to England, of resisting the efforts of her enemies, and of braving the impending storm; directing him, at the same time, to endeavour to obtain for her the palace of the late Queen in the Green Park.

Like his prototype and brother monarch, Henry VIII., George IV. considered that he had only one straightforward course to pursue, and that was an immediate divorce, founded on the allegations of the worthy commissioners of the Milan junta, which went to prove a course of continued and habitual adultery on the part of the expatriated Queen. From this step, however, he was dissuaded by his ministers, as its sole tendency would be to lessen his popularity, or rather, more properly speaking, to increase his unpopularity, one of the consequences of which would be that the popularity of the ministers would also decline, and in its influence might extend to other great political questions on which the domestic and foreign interests of the country depended. It must, however, be stated that the return of the Queen to this country was brought about solely by the treatment which she received from her illustrious husband, and from his ministers in pursuance of his most peremptory commands; for it is well known that, so early as June, 1819, the authorized agent of the Princess had submitted to ministers a proposition to the purport that, if the present allowance were continued to her Royal Highness, she might be induced to remain abroad, and to resign her claim to the title of Queen-Consort. To this pro-

posal Lord Liverpool replied that, when the proper time came, neither he nor his colleagues would have any objection to accept such terms as the basis of an agreement. Accordingly, on the accession of the Regent to the throne of England, by the title of George IV., Lord Liverpool, in a letter to Mr. Brougham, adverted to the proposition of that gentleman, and treated it as if the overture had come directly from the Princess, or officially through her advisers; the only alteration in the terms proposed being the augmentation of the offered income from 33,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*

Before, however, this negotiation could be laid before the Princess, she had heard—but not by official or respectful intimation, for she was not deemed worthy of either—of the demise of the Crown, and consequently of the new dignity with which she was invested. The public papers in like manner announced to her the galling fact, that immediately after the death of George III., his successor, King George IV., in council, had determined to alter the Liturgy of the Church of England, by omitting the name of her Majesty as Princess of Wales, and on not substituting her name as Queen-Consort. In the form of prayer adopted, names were omitted, and the comprehensive words 'all the royal family' retained. The name of the Princess had been originally introduced at the desire of her deceased uncle, and its total omission now gave great offence to the friends of the Church, of the Queen, and of peace and harmony. In order to complete the links of the whole chain of this most memorable history, it may be necessary to refer to the proceedings which occurred in England after the death of George III. relative to her Majesty, and which were precursive of those momentous events which brought England upon the verge of actual rebellion. In the House of Commons the situation of the Princess of Wales was referred to by several members, and a very warm discussion took place, especially on the 26th and 27th of February, when the usual sum was voted to his Majesty for the payment of annuities, salaries, and pensions. The interference of the House of Commons on this subject was both proper and necessary, since the annual sum of 35,000*l.*, which was voted to her as Princess of Wales, and which she had subsequently received

could not with propriety be paid to her when she no longer continued to enjoy that title. She was therefore legally without any income, except such as the King and his ministers might think proper to allow out of the Civil List, until the decision of Parliament. Such observations and discussions, however, only terminated in a promise made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the sum granted to the Queen as Princess of Wales would be continued to be paid to her until Parliament had made some other provision.

This discussion, however, naturally tended to bring the case of her Majesty into public notice; it induced her friends to complain, and her enemies to renew their observations on the past impropriety of her conduct, and the necessity for examination before she should be recognised as the Queen of England. From this time she became the subject of general conversation; and during the succeeding period of twelve months, her situation, and the circumstances connected with her case, engrossed almost all the attention and energies of the population of the country. Trade and manufactures were comparatively unattended to; the nation became divided into two distinct parties, 'the King's party' and the 'Queen's party;' immense sums of money were expended by each in testifying their respect for her character, or, on the other hand, their approval of the measures of Government; the poorer and middling classes of society were almost universally attached to her cause, whilst the nobility and gentry were nearly equally divided. The guilt or innocence of the Queen was by some entirely disregarded, and the question was reduced by them simply to one of Tory and Whig contention. Others, however, regarded the whole circumstances in their proper character, and anxiously watched how far the principles which might be established by the case might be injurious to the interests of the people, and derogatory to the dignity of the Crown. All, however, united in viewing it as a case unparalleled in interest and importance, and, according to their respective prejudices and wishes, they desired either the success of the ministry or of the Queen. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the welfare of the country, during the year 1820, than the discussion of this subject. It was the first year of a new reign, and it was unhappily one of the first

acts of the crown to sanction an inquiry into the conduct of her Majesty during her six years' residence on the continent.

It was unfortunate, not only to the trade, commerce, and agriculture, but to the honour, happiness, peace, and unanimity of the country; and it was especially calamitous as it tended to revive the discussion of events which had been nearly buried in oblivion, and which it would be peculiarly advantageous to the country if they had never been again dragged forth to public notice and animadversion; nor was the King least uninjured by such discussions—his own conduct underwent the most rigorous scrutiny; and when the subject of the divorce began to be examined, founded, as it was supposed to be, on the charge of adultery committed by the Queen, it was very loudly expressed, that if the King had good grounds against the Queen, she on her part had far better ones against him; and it was further hinted at, that the charges against the Queen had not yet been proved, and that the truth of them rested on the testimony of a set of witnesses who had been regularly drilled into the service, and who, it was well known, were liberally remunerated according to the extent of criminality to which they were disposed to swear.—Whereas, on the other hand, the King, since his marriage, was well known to live in adulterous intercourse with several females, particularly a celebrated Marchioness; and although his amours were attempted to be carried on under the veil of secresy, and glossed over under the plea of a strong personal Platonic regard for the individual, yet the public were not to be hoodwinked, and it was openly and undisguisedly declared, that if crimination took place on the one side, recrimination should be resorted to on the other; and when the character of George IV. is taken into consideration, as far as the relation of husband extends, few men possessed less right to appeal to the tribunals of the country for redress for any injury supposed to be received from the misconduct of a wife. We are fully aware of the exception which may be taken to this line of reasoning, particularly by the 'King's party;' but although the fictitious laws of society may make a distinction in the degree of culpability attached to an adulterous intercourse on the part of the husband and the wife, and which is founded

on the legitimacy of the offspring, yet, weighed in the scale of morality and virtue, the culpability is equal, and the same extent of punishment ought to be inflicted on each of the offending parties.

Perhaps no monarch had worse advisers than George IV., or in other words, no monarch had his prejudices, his antipathies, and his passions more humoured and flattered by the sycophants who surrounded him, than the late King; yet, notwithstanding all his former indiscretions,—notwithstanding his *egaremens* from the line of virtue and morality,—notwithstanding the acts of his ministers when he was Regent,—notwithstanding the misrepresentations of his enemies, and the admissions of his friends, it was within his reach, when raised to the government of the country, to have rendered himself one of the most popular monarchs whose name is recorded in the page of English history.

If, when he became the monarch of these realms, he had dismissed from his employ men who had alternately supported him and disgraced him; if he had had courage and boldness to cleanse the Augean stable in which he lived of the many dangerous parasites, male and female, by whom he was environed, and who encircled him as it were within a halo of infamy and vice,—if he had compelled his ministers to adopt a system of rigid economy, himself setting the example, and, above all, if he had abandoned the project of inquiry into the alleged conduct of his illustrious consort, thereby conciliating the minds and affections of his people, every class of the community would have rallied round the throne, and in his cause, and in the defence of that throne, have sacrificed their property, their comforts, and their lives.

As their monarch, the people were attached to George IV., though abstractedly speaking, not as a man. He was the son of a monarch who had gone down to his grave full of years and honours, who had shone conspicuously during life, in the relation of a husband and a father,—the friends of his youth had been the friends of the people, and in the very heyday of that youth he had pledged himself to the support of the constitution, to the freedom of the press, and to the palladium of British liberty, the trial by jury; and at a time when every ray of

hope appeared to be obscured, they still continued, in the fulness of their sanguine disposition, to entertain the idea that the political hemisphere, though lowering, would become serene; that the darkness which then hung over the country would be succeeded by light; and that the reign of George IV. would be ushered in by events which would at once become a guarantee for future happiness and permanent satisfaction.

Very different, however, was the advice which he received, and to which, unfortunately for himself and the country, he lent too willing an ear. He was prevailed upon to retain the members of an administration distinguished for imbecility, avarice, and unpopularity; and to support an investigation which could not produce any beneficial results, which the wise and good of all parties sought to prevent, and which they will never cease to deplore.

The Princess of Wales had now assumed the title of the Queen of England, on the Continent; but so far from that circumstance having the effect of procuring for her that respect which was due to her exalted station, it only exposed her to the most mortifying trials and the most degrading insults. She shared in none of the compliments which were paid to the English nation by the kings of Europe. At home she had been neglected, and the same spirit pursued her abroad. If she chose to travel incognita, that very circumstance attracted inquiry and observation; if she announced herself as the consort of the King of England, the ambassadors at the foreign Courts were charged not to pay her any honours. The Courts of Europe were left to pay or to refuse a dubious compliment to her husband, in the attention they might be induced to offer or neglect towards his unrecognised wife. In the whole of these transactions there was a studied indifference, but no real dignity; there was in them all the meanness of a darkling spirit of revenge, which followed its victim with a ruthless energy, and the appetite for which could only be satisfied with death itself. In all the acts of the King, or of his advisers, we discover no trait of moral energy to guide or influence their plans; all was the result of a deep and deliberate system of malice, founded on the most determined disposition to bring

an obnoxious and intrusive female either to the scaffold or to perpetual infamy.

In regard to the immediate advisers of the Queen, procrastination and uncertainty seemed to influence the whole of their conduct; and in regard to her own immediate resolves, rashness and temerity were their leading principles: the consequence of all was inconsistency in action—its concomitants, delay and confusion.

The fixed determination of the Queen was now to return to England, and as a preparative to that step, she commanded Mr. Brougham to meet her at Geneva, but that gentleman, consistently with his public engagements, found it impossible to obey the command at so great a distance; added to which, where it might become requisite to have repeated interviews and consultations, it was considered that her Majesty being so far from the scene of discussion might be productive of great and serious inconvenience. A request was therefore sent to her, to lose as little time as possible in pursuing her route to Calais, or to some other town contiguous to the coast, so as to be in close communication with the English shore.

No event in the annals of English history ever excited a more intense feeling than the expected arrival of the Queen in England. The members of the administration were not inattentive to her operations; and her friends, in the House of Commons, and out of that House, publicly pledged themselves to espouse her cause, by asserting her rights, and studying to redress her alleged grievances.

In proportion, however, as the people espoused the cause of their injured Queen, the King sank in their estimation. Although enshrined within the splendour of his palaces, he heard the loud railings of his infuriated subjects; and with his head on the bosom of his Circe, he heard the deep mutterings of the storm which was soon to break over him and his aroused country.

The intentions of her Majesty to return to this country being communicated to Lord Liverpool, the ministry became desirous, if possible, to prevent her arrival, by offers, which by their splendour might attract her attention and obtain her

approbation. It was determined, if possible, to prevent her arrival; and Lord Hutchinson, the friend of the King, but in other respects a man of great integrity and honour, was selected on the part of Government to conduct the negotiations. Lord Hutchinson was accompanied by Mr. Brougham on his journey, and they met the Queen at St. Omers. It is a matter of suspicion, that at this meeting the Queen received the *first* intelligence (and that imperfectly conveyed) of Lord Liverpool's proposal already alluded to, and that she regarded it as perfectly new, and entirely originating with the official servants of the King. Her Majesty was also given to understand, that on the success of this negotiation her political existence in England would cease, be the result whatever it may; but that, should it fail, it was resolved to proceed against her on the information in possession of the King, and that the signal for the commencement of such proceedings should be her setting foot on the shores of England.

The communication of Lord Hutchinson determined her Majesty to proceed immediately to England; the utmost promptitude and decision succeeded to hesitation, and rapidity assumed the place of tardiness. She applied to the Admiralty for a royal yacht—it was refused; she entertained a notion that the French government might be influenced to delay her journey, and, with the precipitation of an offended woman, she travelled post to Calais, determining to embark in the common packet. Her own agent and the King's were struck with wonder at the speed of her flight, which could not even brook the delay of disembarkation in the usual course, but, throwing herself into an open boat in a swelling sea, her Majesty reached Dover at one o'clock, on the 5th of June, and was received with a royal salute, no orders having been given to the contrary; while at Calais, express commands were given to prevent any acknowledgment of her quality and station. A universal shout of congratulation welcomed her arrival; for a few moments her countenance and manner bespoke considerable agitation, but she soon recovered herself, and with a firm step and composed manner walked slowly along the crowded ranks of the inhabitants. Feelings honourable to the English nation—compassion for the unfortunate, a desire

to support the weaker side, and resentment of supposed injuries, united with a sentiment common to all mankind—the belief that innocence begets confidence,—to secure for the Queen, thus situated, a most energetic and enthusiastic welcome, a similar spirit lighted one hundred flambeaux, and collected ten thousand persons the same night to greet her arrival at Canterbury. Her route to London was a continued triumph, and her arrival there its climax. It was urged by the King's party, that it was only the lower and middling classes of society which predominated in this display of feeling, and it was acceded as such; but by the display of that feeling, George IV. was made to feel, on the throne, the force of the public opinion; and the salutary lesson was read to him, how highly impolitic it is in an English Monarch to set himself up in opposition to it. The groans with which his Majesty was received whenever he condescended to show himself in public, must have sounded to him as a warning voice, or as a prognostic of 'some wizard eld on blasted heath,' telling his future doom; on the other hand, the cheers which her Majesty received, were paid to her situation, and to that display of courage which appeared to brave it. The popular hatred of anything like oppression had its share in the excitement; and it may be added, that at this period very few persons in England were acquainted with the nature or the proofs of the charge against her. In what manner this honourable feeling became perverted into a political passion, and with what address the noble sympathy of the many was employed in the party purposes of the few, remain to be disclosed. Such parts only of the drama as were fit for the public eye, were allowed to be represented: the grand mover of the machinery was kept carefully concealed from view; his official puppets were seen moving in every direction, some of them skulking into hiding-places, to pick up some dirty matter to aggregate the mass which was destined to overwhelm an injured and calumniated woman. It was behind the curtain that the catastrophe was worked, for the completion of which secret agents were despatched to all quarters, both at home and abroad, invested with powers equal to the familiars of the Inquisition, and witnesses were suborned, not actually con-

cerned in the transaction, but who were to depose to facts as if having fallen within their own immediate observation. Nay, so eager was the Court for a conviction, that the obscurest adventurer found both profit and promotion; and we know of a certain attorney, at Dover, a volunteer in the conspiracy, who received an official appointment for his services, with also the thanks of the law officers of the Crown, for examining the foreign witnesses as they arrived, and disciplining their evidence, by pointing out to them what they should swear to and what deny. The like acts were resorted to at every stage of the journey, and modified as circumstances required on their arrival in England, till the whole plan was organized by a select committee in London, who called themselves the friends of the King, where the evidence was revised and queries framed, which naturally rose out of, or were consecutive with the inquiry.

On the arrival of the Queen in England, the first important step was taken. She demanded the full enjoyment of her rights, and the unqualified avowal of her innocence. The King and ministers believed her guilty, or were determined to consider her as such; and, consequently, they considered themselves bound to refuse her demands. She had returned to England in despite of remonstrances, bribes, and entreaties; she had offended them by the dauntless air with which she so suddenly appeared before them; she had dared to challenge investigation—to dispute their right to persecute her; and, therefore, only one course remained to them. The papers which contained the criminating evidence were sent down to either house of Parliament, with a royal message announcing the Queen's arrival, and recommending to the serious notice of the assembly the charges now produced against her. These were referred to a select committee: the Queen, by her counsel, protested against such a course, demanding an open investigation, and not a secret tribunal. It may not be unworthy of remark, as a singular coincidence, that the Queen's message and the appointment of the committee were discussed on the very day of the year and month with that on which she had been publicly accused fourteen years before. The matter was already made a party question, and very intemperate speeches

were delivered in the angry discussions which ensued. The alleged adulterous intercourse, being committed with a foreigner, did not amount to treason; it was not an indictable offence, but a mere civil injury. The committee was appointed in the Upper House, and the Commons adjourned to allow time for the mutual friends of both parties to bring about an amicable arrangement. This adjournment was, however, prolonged or repeated from day to day, by which nothing but delay was gained. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh were the noblemen selected by the King, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman were the gentlemen appointed by her Majesty to manage the negotiation. This conference was founded on the basis that nothing should be admitted on the one side, nor retracted on the other.

According to the anticipations of the Queen, these conferences turned out to be wholly unavailing; and the only step which appeared proper to be taken, and likely to be attended with success, was by the legitimate and dignified interference of the council of the nation.

All accommodation being rejected, the secret committee reported on the 4th of July; and a bill of pains and penalties, founded on the report, was on the following day presented to the House by the Earl of Liverpool. The Queen protested against these proceedings at every step; her counsel were allowed to be heard at the bar, and the second reading was fixed for the 17th of August. The Queen, in the interim, petitioned for a list of witnesses and of places where the charges of criminal conduct were to be laid, both of which requests were, however, denied. Before, however, the second reading took place, the Queen's counsel were heard against the principle of the bill. Their objections were founded on the tendency of the inquiry to corrupt the public morals, on her Majesty's right of recrimination, on the unusual course pursued; and they inferred that the whole originated in the King's desire to be in a state to contract another marriage. On the 12th her Majesty appeared in the House, and the Lords rose to receive her.

It now became necessary immediately to send out a commissioner to Italy, for the purpose of collecting evidence on

behalf of the Queen, and a Mr. Henry was selected for that important and arduous task. Every obstacle was thrown in the way of his effecting the purport of his mission, and the Queen was thereby deprived of many witnesses who would have been able wholly to refute the depositions of the parties procured by the exertions of the Milan commissioners.

At this period of the history of these proceedings, it may not be improper to notice, that the almost innumerable addresses presented to her Majesty, the processions which took place on their presentation, and the mobs which they collected, tended very materially to express the feelings of the nation as to the bill of pains and penalties, and confessedly to induce its withdrawment by the very minister who introduced it. Connected with such addresses, were public meetings of parishes, hundreds, and counties; and scarcely a public company or corporation existed which did not also join in such measures. The higher classes of society, indeed, did not generally connect themselves with these proceedings; but many exceptions unquestionably occurred even to that rule. On the 19th of August, the Attorney-General commenced his statement of the charges brought against her Majesty, which he concluded on the 22nd, and then proceeded to call the witnesses for the prosecution.

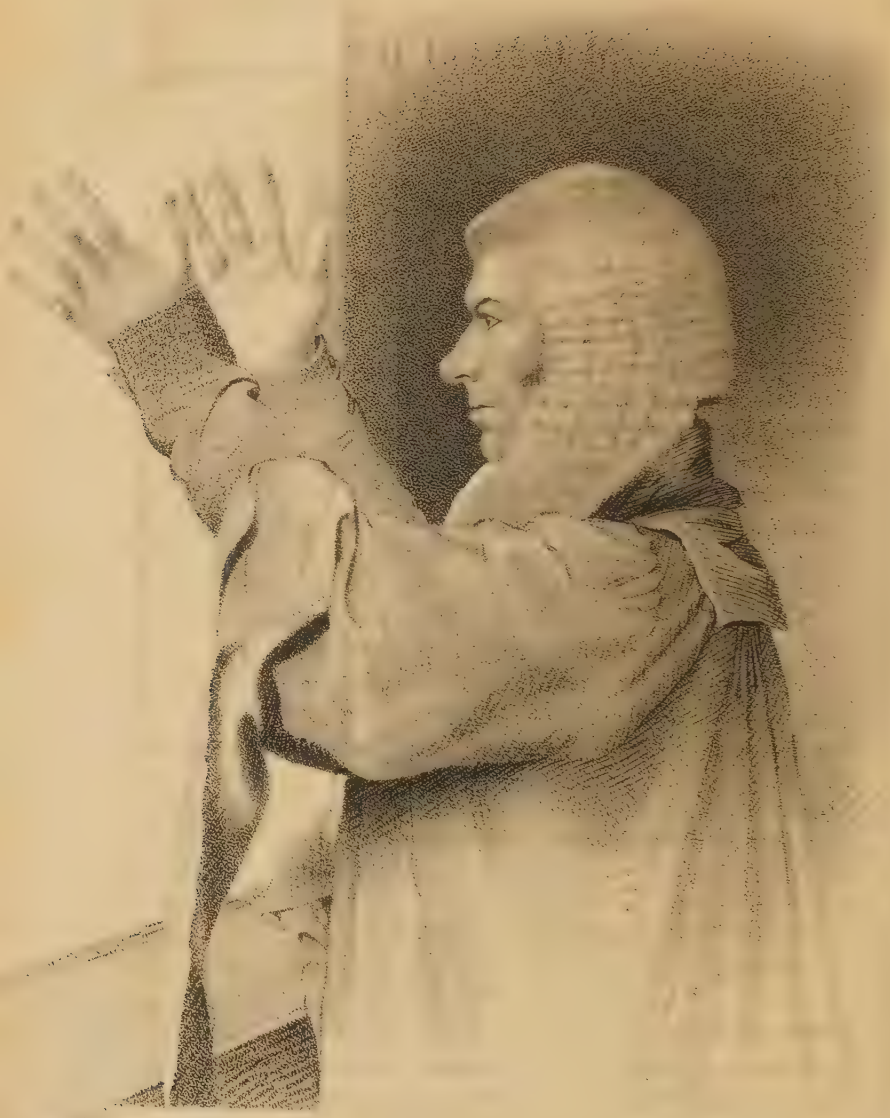
No event of importance occurred in the House of Lords until the 26th of August, when a long discussion took place respecting the right of the Queen's counsel to two cross examinations, and the nature and extent thereof. This debate was adjourned to the following Monday and Tuesday; but it was finally determined in behalf of the counsel for her Majesty, by a majority of 15. It was remarkable that on this question ministers differed; the Earl of Liverpool and the Earl of Harrowby supporting the motion, and the Lord Chancellor opposing it.

The examination of witnesses for the prosecution having closed, the Solicitor-General proceeded to sum up the evidence, after which the House adjourned from the 9th of September to the 3rd of October.

Accordingly on that day the House re-assembled; counsel were ordered to be called in, and Mr. Brougham commenced

his address, which occupied him two days to deliver. Those only who listened to this oration can form an adequate idea of its splendour and dignity. Though solely reported in newspapers, its beauties were as evident as its effect was surprising. To transcribe a part of this address may be regarded as a species of literary sacrilege; yet so just and appropriate is the following summary of the trials to which her Majesty had been successively exposed, that it is copied into these pages for the purpose of presenting a condensed view of her sufferings, notwithstanding the injustice which is thereby done to Mr. Brougham's oratory, by presenting one of his figures detached from its appropriate group.

'It was always,' said Mr. Brougham, 'the Queen's sad fate to lose her best stay, her strongest and surest protector, when danger threatened her; and, by a coincidence most miraculous in her eventful history, not one of her intrepid defenders was ever withdrawn from her without that loss being the immediate signal for the renewal of momentous attacks upon her honour and her life. Mr. Pitt, who had been her constant friend and protector, died in 1806. A few weeks after that event took place, the first attack was levelled at her. Mr. Pitt left her as a legacy to Mr. Perceval, who became her best, her most undaunted, her firmest protector. But no sooner had the hand of an assassin laid prostrate that minister, than her Royal Highness felt the force of the blow, by the commencement of a renewed attack, though she had but just been borne through the last by Mr. Perceval's skilful and powerful defence of her character. Mr. Whitbread then undertook her protection; but soon that melancholy catastrophe happened which all good men of every political party in the state, he believed, sincerely and universally lamented. Then came, with Mr. Whitbread's dreadful loss, the murmuring of that storm which was so soon to burst, with all its tempestuous fury, upon her hapless and devoted head. Her child still lived, and was her friend: her enemies were afraid to strike, for they, in the wisdom of the world, worshipped the rising sun. But when she lost that amiable and beloved daughter, she had no protector; her enemies had nothing to dread; innocent or guilty, there was no hope; and she yielded to the intreaty of those who



...ed by J. Wivell,
...e the House of Lords

H BROUGHAM, ESQ. M.P.

THE QUEEN'S ATTORNEY GENERAL.

J. Wright ...

NOW LORD BROUGHAM AND VAUX.

LATE HIGH CHANCELLOR.

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advised her residence out of this country. Who, indeed, could love persecution so steadfastly as to stay and brave its renewal and continuance, and harass the feelings of the only one she loved so dearly, by combating such repeated attacks, which were still reiterated after the record of the fullest acquittal? It was however reserved for the Milan commission to concentrate and condense all the threatening clouds which were prepared to burst upon her ill-fated head; and, as if it were utterly impossible that the Queen could lose a single protector without the loss being instantaneously followed by the commencement of some important step against her, the same day which saw the remains of her venerable sovereign entombed—of that beloved sovereign who was from the outset her constant father and friend—that same sun which shone upon the monarch's tomb ushered into the palace of his illustrious son and successor one of the perjured witnesses who were brought over to depose against her Majesty's life.'

Nor should the following bold, yet correct, and indeed inimitable peroration to this incomparable speech be omitted:—

'Such, my Lords,' said Mr. Brougham, 'is the case now before you; and such is the evidence by which it is attempted to be upheld. It is evidence, inadequate to prove any proposition; impotent to deprive the subject of any civil right; ridiculous, to establish the least offence; scandalous, to support a charge of the highest nature; monstrous, to ruin the honour of the Queen of England. What shall I say of it, then, as evidence to support a judicial act of legislature—an *ex post facto* law? My Lords, I call upon you to pause. You stand on the brink of a precipice. If your judgment shall go out against the Queen, it will be the only act that ever went out without effecting its purpose; it will return to you upon your own heads. Save the country—save yourselves. Rescue the country—save the people of whom you are the ornaments, but severed from whom, you can no more live than the blossom that is severed from the root and tree on which it grows. Save the country, therefore, that you may continue to adorn it; save the crown, which is threatened with irreparable injury; save the aristocracy, which is surrounded with danger; save the altar, which is no longer safe when its kindred throne is

shaken. You see that, when the church and the throne would allow of no church solemnity in behalf of the Queen, the heartfelt prayers of the people rose to Heaven for her protection. I pray Heaven for her; and here I pour forth my fervent supplications at the Throne of Mercy, that mercies may descend on the people of this country, richer than their rulers have deserved, and that your hearts may be turned to justice.'

On the 24th of October terminated the examination of the witnesses for the Queen; and Mr. Denman, in a speech of transcendent eloquence and great ability, recapitulated the insufficiency of the evidence for the prosecution, and retraced the nature of the counteracting testimony given for the Queen.

On the 27th, the Attorney-General for the King commenced his reply; and, on the following day, the Solicitor-General addressed their Lordships in an appropriate speech, which he terminated on Monday, the 30th of October. The Lord Chancellor then proceeded to remark on the evidence, and the speeches of the peers extended to the 6th of November, when the House divided on the second reading of the bill, which was carried by a majority of 28.

On the following day her Majesty was advised by her counsel to attend at the House of Lords, and sign her protest against the bill, which having signed, she exclaimed, 'Regina still, in spite of them!'

The House then went into a committee on the preamble of the bill, and afterwards proceeded to consider its enactments; when the Archbishop of York spoke against the divorce clause, and was followed on the same side by the Bishops of Chester and Worcester. A long debate ensued, and the House was adjourned to the 8th of November, when it divided, and the divorce clause was carried by a majority of 67.

Never was there a finer parliamentary *ruse de guerre* practised than on this occasion. His Majesty's ministers voted against the clause, but many of their friends, who possessed more zeal than judgment, were determined at all events to vote against the Queen; and these were joined by those peers who were wholly opposed to the bill, and who now saw a fair

opportunity, by introducing into the bill an obnoxious clause, of effecting its complete rejection. This proceeding was highly prudent, and was attended with the most complete success. The vote, in fact, decided the fate of the bill, for ministers were divided, and their friends were divided with them.

On the 10th of November the House assembled at ten o'clock, when the Lord Chancellor put the question for the bill to be read a third time; and after a long and interesting discussion, in this last stage of the proceeding, it was determined that the bill should be read, by a majority of NINE votes; but the bill was not yet passed, and a majority of only NINE in favour of such a measure was, in fact, a minority.

After the division on the third reading, Lord Dacre rose to present a petition from her Majesty, praying to be heard by counsel against the passing of the bill, when the Earl of Liverpool rose immediately, and said, that he apprehended such a course would be rendered unnecessary by what he was about to state. 'He could not be ignorant of the state of public feeling with regard to this measure, and it appeared to be the opinion of the House, that the bill should be read a third time only by a majority of nine votes. Had the third reading been carried by as considerable a number of peers as the second, he and his noble colleagues would have felt it their duty to persevere with the bill, and to send it down to the other branch of the legislature. In the present state of the country, however, and with the division of sentiment so nearly balanced, just evinced by their Lordships, they had come to the determination not to proceed further with it. It was his intention accordingly to move that the question, that the bill do pass, be put on this day six months.'

This announcement was received with cheers; her Majesty heard the communication without emotion, but the nation evinced satisfaction as sincere as it was universal. Parliament was immediately prorogued, but the excitement which prevailed in the public mind had no precedent in English history. The people caught hold of every circumstance which could afford them an opportunity of loudly expressing their disapprobation of the measures adopted against the Queen; and although the King very wisely and politically kept him-

self completely private, as if he had no interest in the result, nor had been in the least instrumental to the getting up of the comico-ludicro-tragico drama, yet by his own party he was most exuberantly praised for this royal proof of his delicacy, liberality, and impartiality; but by the other party, his conduct was regarded as characteristic of cowardice and injustice, in not daring to step forth, and show himself as the actual prosecutor of his wife, when it was well known that the whole of the proceedings issued from Carlton House, and that ministers themselves entered upon the business with repugnance and hesitation.

The effect of the withdrawal of the bill acted with an electrical force upon the country; even the funds felt its influence, and address upon address flowed in upon her Majesty, congratulatory of the victory which she had obtained. Prince Leopold and the Duke of Sussex visited her Majesty, to which circumstance is to be attributed the prejudice which the King ever after entertained against those illustrious personages, and which was never wholly removed, even on the brink of the grave.

Her Majesty now resolved on returning public thanks to the Great Disposer of all events, for the deliverance she had obtained from the evils apprehended, and for the withdrawment of the bill of pains and penalties. The propriety of this measure was at the time much questioned, and it has been alleged that it was only designed as an open insult to the King and to the members of the House of Peers, who had voted in favour of the bill. We shall not enter into a decision of that question, as it resolves itself into a mere matter of opinion; but it cannot be denied that political as well as religious feeling determined her Majesty publicly to offer up her acknowledgments to Heaven; nor can it be disputed that she felt grateful for her deliverance from approaching danger and calamity, and, indeed, she frequently expressed her conviction that the providence of God had interfered in her behalf. Whether such convictions were correct, is not the question; but whether she were sincere, and her sincerity should not be disputed, it was dignified and correct to appear in the grand cathedral of the metropolis, there to offer up her acknowledgments, and pour

forth her supplications. The publicity of her attendance was an avowal of her belief in the great doctrines of Christianity, and was a proceeding neither novel nor improper; but the nature of the procession, and the feelings which the shouts of the populace were calculated to inspire, alas! ill accorded with those feelings of reverence and humility with which a creature should approach the Governor of the Universe.

Even, however, in the performance of this act of her religious duties, her Majesty was doomed to experience the bitterness of disappointment, and the most extreme mortification. An application had been made to the proper authorities, that a sermon might be delivered on the occasion; and the Rev. Archdeacon Bathurst solicited the honour of delivering a discourse which he had prepared, but the request was refused, and the usual daily service was alone performed.

Notwithstanding the abandonment of the bill of pains and penalties, her Majesty's name was not inserted in the Liturgy. It was in vain urged that she was either acquitted or not acquitted; that in the latter case ministers ought to bring forward their accusations and commence new proceedings, or that, if she were acquitted, she ought to be put in possession of her rights.

This question was one of great difficulty, and of nearly equal importance: her friends viewed it with a jealous eye, and the nation considered it as a question of prerogative. Her Majesty felt more keenly this mark of disrespect than any other she had been called upon to endure; and accordingly urged her friends, if possible, to obtain the insertion of her name in the Liturgy, or a declaration from Parliament, that by its vote it was desired that such insertion might be made; but the application of her friends was unattended with any beneficial result, and the resolution proposed to Parliament on the subject was necessarily rejected.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into detail on this most curious and difficult question. It certainly involved not the rights of her Majesty alone, but of all Queen-consorts, as well of the present as of succeeding generations. As a matter of history, however, we may be allowed the following few remarks, as it may be important to inquire whether the King or

the Privy Council possess the authority of altering the Liturgy, as directed by the different acts of Parliament, without the sanction and permission of the Parliament itself. In 1661 it was resolved to establish a Liturgy, that should unite as closely as possible all religious parties in the state, and make them submit to its authority. This Act of Uniformity was made after a period of civil disturbance, and it adopted the principle adhered to in all former Liturgies, of omitting the name of the Queen, as was the case in the reigns of Henry VIII., James I., and Charles I. When the Act of Uniformity passed, Charles II. was not married, and a blank was left in one collect for the name of the Queen, leaving it perfectly to be understood that it was to stand, *pro re nata*, for the insertion of the Queen-consort's name when the King should marry; and not only was the blank left for the name, but also for the titles; and, in fact, after the marriage of the King, some copies of the book of Common Prayer had the blank filled up, and the name of her Majesty the Queen-consort inserted. From that time down to the reign of George I., the Queen-consorts had been habitually prayed for. But then it has been urged, that the Consort of George I. was not so prayed for, and the chain was therefore broken. To that objection it has been replied, that it is insufficient to sustain the alteration made by his late Majesty, as the cases have no affinity with each other. George I. ascended the throne in 1714, and for eighteen years before that period the Princess of Zell had been confined in a Hanoverian prison. She was never known, nor was she represented in this country, and she remained in that prison until her death. For the period of eighteen years prior to his succession to the throne of England, George I. had also been divorced from her; and she was therefore neither legally his Consort, nor was she so considered by the nation, who never made any reference to her. Further, although George I. had not been divorced from the Princess of Zell by act of Parliament, he would of course have obtained such act if he had applied, since the real divorce was notorious, and acknowledged by both parties: the Duchess of Kendal was, in fact, his wife, and therefore it would have been absurd to have included the name of the Princess of Zell in the Liturgy, and

its omission cannot with fairness be adduced as a precedent. With such exceptions these Queen-consorts have been habitually prayed for; and the *consuetudo regni*, being so established and demonstrated, furnishes a powerful argument in favour of the right of George IV. to be prayed for as established by usage, and more especially as, by the Act of Uniformity, the Common Prayer Book became part of the statute law of the land, and was thereby no longer intrusted to the management of the King or his Council. In addition to such arguments, it has been contended that the Queen, though a subject, has privileges and rights which attach to her in her political character; that it is not in the power of the King to give nor to take them away: that the privilege of having her name included in the Liturgy is among the number; and that therefore, on every principle of reasoning, from analogy, from precedent, and from law, it is demonstrative, that the exclusion of the name of her Majesty was originally improper, and that, by its subsequent non-introduction, a precedent was established, which is principally to be deplored because it affects the constitutional rights and liberties of the people.

It forms not one of the least remarkable features in the conduct of George IV. towards his persecuted wife, that, in total ignorance of her real character, he considered that all the grievances of which she complained, all the mal-treatment which she endured, and all the odium and obloquy which were heaped upon her, were to be stifled and effaced by a bribe of money. Thus, in the speech which was delivered by his Majesty at the opening of the Session of Parliament, he recommended that some provision should be made for the Queen, and it was accordingly proposed by the administration that the annual sum of 50,000*l.* should be allowed her. What greater proof can be adduced of the noble, generous, and forgiving disposition of the King? exclaimed his partisans:—how kind and conciliating his heart must be, to make it the first object of his care to provide for the comforts and personal convenience of an individual who had so deeply, grossly injured him; who had attempted to beard him on his very throne, and who, by her scandalous conduct, had alienated from him the affections and loyalty of his people! That a man so

injured in the dear relation of a husband, whose whole conduct in that character could not be impeached, and who had been compelled, by that proper regard which every individual ought to display for the maintenance and support of his dignity and honour, to bring the culprit before the bar of the highest legislative assembly of the kingdom; that an individual of that pure and immaculate character should be able on a sudden to throw aside all animosities, and, in the plenitude of his generous spirit, to call upon the nation for an increased allowance to his disreputable wife, stamped him at once, in the long chronicles of kings, native and foreign, as the most perfect Christian and the best of men.

These sentiments were echoed by the hireling journals, but on the mass of the English people their effect was as visible and permanent as a drop of rain on the breast of the cygnet. They saw through the shallowness of the attempt, and the penetrating few laid open the manœuvre which the King and his ministers practised upon the nation to impart a fictitious gloss to their own oppressive and unconstitutional proceedings.

It must, however, be remarked that the spirit of the Queen, so far from having gained an accession of strength by her late victory, appeared rather to bend and to succumb to the trials which oppressed her; in fact she appeared disposed to accept of the offer of the 50,000*l.*, and to relinquish the Liturgy altogether. It would, perhaps, have been highly conducive to the restoration of the tranquillity of the country, if the Queen had been allowed to follow the bias of her own inclination; but she was advised to reject the offer until her name was inserted in the Liturgy; and the grounds of that advice were that, if she refused to accept the grant, the ministry would yield to her wishes with respect to the Liturgy; since she would never be allowed, even by them, to remain without funds, or without a palace or an establishment; and that she would thus at once obtain those rights and privileges which she would otherwise ineffectually endeavour to procure. She was at length induced to sign a protest, which was communicated to the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham on the 31st of January.

Notwithstanding this protest, the House proceeded to make the proposed grant; and, although it did not totally disregard

the communication so made, yet it only excited feelings of surprise and regret, and was viewed by her enemies as an act of defiance, and by her friends as imprudent and even absurd. The Queen had assured herself that some strenuous efforts would be made by the Whigs to raise her an annuity amongst themselves and the people, and although at a meeting of some of the leading Whigs, Lord Fitzwilliam and a few others generously offered to become contributors to a large amount, yet the measure did not receive general support, and finally it was totally abandoned. The failure of this measure occasioned to the Queen much real grief and regret. She felt that by the reception of the grant at this time, after its previous rejection, she would be lessening her dignity and laying her character open to the charges of caprice and cowardice; and yet she knew that without resources she could not maintain her establishment, and must either borrow, without the probability of reimbursing, or make an appeal to the public, which might not, under all the circumstances, be attended with success.

In regard, however, to pecuniary matters, an immediate arrangement was entered into, which met with the concurrence of the Queen, at the same time that the sum voted by the House of Commons did not by any means enable her to maintain the dignity of a Queen-consort, or in some degree to relieve her from those heavy embarrassments, which had been brought upon her by the vexatious proceedings instituted by the government, and the expenses incurred during her trial.

Severe, however, as her trials had been, they had not yet reached their height, for she was now to undergo one more poignant and humiliating than any she had yet endured. The love of pomp, pageantry, and parade, was one of the ruling passions of George IV., and in the gratification of that passion, he never stooped to consult the interests of the people, nor the common principles of economy or of prudence. The pageant of his coronation, with all its senseless pomp, its tinselled grandeur, and its empty ceremonies, had long presented itself to his imagination, as one richly adapted to please his vanity, and to tickle the fools of his court. We have already stated, that this ceremony had been postponed on account of the Queen's arrival and her subsequent trial, but now some-

thing was necessary to withdraw the attention of the people from that subject, and as the materials for some dangerous conspiracy against the state were not to be met with, it was determined that the coronation should be got up, according to the theatrical phrase, and perhaps a more expensive tub was never given the people to play with, or which harmonized so little with the peculiar aspect of the times.

At such ceremonies it had been almost invariably the custom that Queen-consorts should be crowned, and the propriety of maintaining the custom cannot be disputed. Her Majesty felt on this occasion, that if she were only nominally Queen-consort, then all those rights which according to *consuetudo regni* had been enjoyed by them, were at once declared to be nullities. She therefore personally addressed a letter to the King, accompanied by a request that it might not be opened by ministers, but forwarded directly to his Majesty. In that letter she requested she might be crowned, and briefly stated the reasons why she expected that her requisition would not be refused. The King, however, had long directed that no letter from the Queen should be communicated to him, until its contents were first perused by his ministers, and the Queen's letter was therefore opened by them. He was, however, apprised of the nature of the application, and, after deliberating with the law officers, he directed Lord Liverpool to transmit the information to the Queen, 'that it is his Majesty's prerogative to regulate the ceremonial of his coronation in such a manner as he may think fit; that the Queen can form no part of that ceremonial, except in consequence of a distinct authority from the King; and that it is not his Majesty's intention, under existing circumstances, to give any such authority.' As a kind of quietus, however, to her Majesty, the pliant courtier closed his reply, with the intimation that the King had dispensed with the attendance of all ladies at his coronation.

The Queen was not to be intimidated by this reply, but instantly resolved to memorialize the King, representing to him that, as many manors and lands were held on the express tenure, that services should be done by them for Queen-consorts at their coronations, it was peculiarly proper that such

tenures should not be invalidated, nor such services discontinued, lest their discontinuance should be subsequently construed into a precedent.

This memorial was, of course, transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and by him it was submitted to the King. The public now felt an intense anxiety on the subject. A coronation is in itself a senseless ceremony; it is a legacy of our forefathers, to which no letters of administration ought to be taken out at the present day, nor should the pageant ever have been performed at a time when the nation groaned under the pressure of poverty—when a national debt, unequalled in magnitude in the history of the world—when the poor-rates were quadrupled within half a century, and taxes, as enormous as they are ruinous, weighed down the energies of the people—at such a time to impose an additional burden upon the public for the mere gratification of Royal vanity was regarded as not only unwise, but actually criminal; and when, in addition to these circumstances, it was made a political instrument of oppression, its impropriety became additionally evident, and it was desired by the people that the measure should be wholly abolished, or that all parties should meet at the throne and altar, and consign to oblivion their various contentions. The ministers, however, were determined to act in contradiction to those principles; the King was to be crowned, however loudly the people might be disposed to murmur, and it was resolved at the same time, that the Queen should not be permitted to participate in the ceremony. An answer to that effect was transmitted by Lord Sidmouth to Lord Hood, as her Majesty's Chamberlain, in which it was distinctly laid down, according to the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, that the Queen-consort has not any claim nor right to celebrate the ceremony of the coronation.

In discussing this question, the history of the ceremony ought to be fully examined, because a coronation is the mere creature of precedent, and rests rather upon practice than principle, although the reason of it also may be traced. There is, however, no occasion to inquire into the practice, as was the case when a successful warrior was held up to his followers in the field on a buckler, and hailed as king among a

crowd of soldiers, and in the necessary absence of his family. The ascertainment of the fact does more in this case than lay a foundation for the argument, because every thing depends upon usage; but, in the present instance, as a matter of history, and to which posterity may refer for a precedent, it is incumbent on us to state the grounds on which the Queen-consort of England was denied those privileges which were always supposed to belong to her station. It was agreed, even by the advisers of the King, that, in England, no Queen-consort had ever been denied a coronation. There are, it is true, four or five instances in which no record remains of the ceremony, but it is not reasonable to infer, that because there is no record, either the one way or the other, that the ceremony in all these instances was omitted. If, however, the omission could be proved in all those instances where no authentic record remains, it is contended that such omissions have been sufficiently accounted for. There is the greatest difference between an omission and an interruption, a mere *non usor* and a denial. An occasional omission of the exercise of a right does not destroy that right. The King's right to be crowned might stand in the same predicament; for although it happens that his coronation has only been omitted in one instance, that of Edward V., which is easily accounted for, the omission might well have been more frequent. The intervals between accessions and coronations have been long enough to leave many risks of the demise of the crown before the ceremony could be performed; yet, had such cases occurred, and the delay not been accounted for, the unexplained omission would not have availed against the right of future kings. No instance whatever is alleged of the Queen having been prevented from enjoying the honour in question; on the contrary, two attempts were made to disturb her, and both failed. Henry II. and afterwards Henry VII. delayed the coronation of their consorts, and endeavoured to withhold the ceremony altogether, but both were obliged to yield to the general usage, and those consorts were crowned.

It is a matter of no little moment, to inquire whether George IV., or, more politically speaking, his ministers, did not actually infringe a law of the land in their refusal to allow

the Queen to participate in the ceremonies of the coronation; at all events, it is admitted, now that the passions have subsided, and men have shaken off the influence of party spirit, that the whole conduct of the King and his ministers towards the Queen, was marked by a malignity and rancour, which are in general only residents in a little mind. If no purpose could be discovered to which the ceremony can now be made subservient, or even if its origin could not be traced, there would not on that account arise a presumption that the Sovereign may ordain or dispense with it. He is himself the creature of the law, and in the contemplation of the law, he has no caprice. Mere personal matters of such a nature as plainly belong to his individual not to his corporate character, he may regulate at will; but the leaning of the law, and the constitution of this country, is to narrow the class of those personal functions as far as possible, and to regard the natural as merging in the political character. It is absurd, and wholly inconsistent with every thing in the history, and in the ceremony of the Queen's coronation, to suppose that it may be ordered or omitted like a court dinner or a ball. They who maintain that it is optional, must contend that it is quite indifferent, and that it never had any meaning nor importance; but they must further be prepared to show why that alone of all the coronation customs which it so nearly resembles both in its nature and history, is both senseless and useless; for no one pretends that the King's coronation may be performed or omitted at pleasure, and yet it rests upon the same foundation of usage with the Queen's. They who rely upon the usage have no occasion to show either the origin or the purpose of the solemnity, but then they must take all the parts of it together. They who hold one part to be necessary and the other optional, must be able to distinguish the two; but where anything is found so long established, the law will contend that it must have had a reasonable origin. However, the use of crowning the consort appears to be obvious from her connexion with the royal progeny. The coronation was the public recognition of the King as Sovereign, and of the Queen as his lawful wife, and the mother of the heirs to the crown; it was the ceremony by which the sovereign's own title and that of her issue were authenticated.

Crowning the King acknowledged him as the rightful monarch. Crowning the Queen perpetuated the testimony of the marriage, on the validity of which depended the purity of the succession to the throne, and on the undisputed acknowledgment of which depended the safety and peacefulness of that succession. The especial favourite of the law of England, as regards the Queen-consort, is and always has been the legitimacy of the royal progeny. The main objects are to prevent a spurious issue from being imposed on the realm, and to remove all doubts on this point which, if contested, would endanger the peace of the country.

We have considered it necessary to make the foregoing remarks, as the circumstance of the refusal to allow the Queen to be crowned, led to a most melancholy result, which gave a wholly new feature to the political relations of the country.

The morning of the 19th of July, the day appointed for the coronation, at length arrived. To enter into a full detail of all the minutiæ of the pageant, would carry us far beyond our limits; we shall therefore merely confine ourselves to the description of that particular scene represented in our engraving. As early as one o'clock in the morning the *privileged* began their approach; crowds of foot passengers hastened to take possession of their places on the temporary hustings, which had been erected through the whole line of the procession by some speculating individuals at an enormous expense. Long lines of vehicles and the muster of troops, distinguished the very dawn of a bright summer morning, which was hailed by the bells of St. Margaret's. Already groups of picturesque and characteristic figures began to assemble, and the combinations were often of the most motley kind. A peer in his coronation robes, a pursuivant, or a gentleman-pensioner, might be seen mingled with the indiscriminate crowd; diamonds glittered, plumes were waving, and the fair and noble of the land emerged at intervals from the mass of the multitude. Everything being arranged by the marshal, and each person in his place, a signal-gun was fired and the trumpets played 'God save the King,' and his Majesty, most splendidly attired, entered the Hall at Westminster, exactly as the clock struck ten. The arrangements of the regalia and presentation of the crown

being over, the staff of Edward, the spurs, the swords of temporal and spiritual justice and of mercy, and the sword of state, the sceptre and crown, the orb, St. Edward's crown, the patina, the chalice, and the bible, were each delivered to its proper bearer, and the grand procession began to move from Westminster Hall to the Abbey. The King, the Royal Dukes, the prelates, the nobility, the ministry, the army and navy, the House of Commons, and the orders of knighthood by themselves or their representatives, formed a part of the magnificent spectacle. The costume of distinguished periods of national history, was chosen with taste and judgment, and in splendor and effect was well calculated to please the warmest admirer of pomp and pageantry. It was, however, observed, that the King on his way from the Hall to the Abbey, received none of those warm and hearty salutations, which are the meed of a patriot king, and which are generally given by a people attached to their monarch for his virtues and his principles.

The tributary flowers strewn in the pathway of the procession began to be scattered within the Abbey about eleven, and the anthem pealed along the venerable aisles, swelled by one hundred instruments, and twice that number of voices, while each place was taken by its appointed tenant, and the blaze of beauty almost eclipsed the glitter of pageantry. The *recognition*, or presentation of the King, was followed by the spontaneous homage of the people; the *oblation* and prayer introduced the religious service of the day; and, at the end of the sermon, the oath was administered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and taken by the King. His Majesty was then anointed with holy oil, as 'Kings, Priests, and Prophets were anointed.' The *spurs* were presented, and then returned as an oblation, and being girt with the *sword* of state, his Majesty removed and with his own hand offered it also on the altar. The *armill* and *robe* of state were next disposed around the royal person. The *orb* was placed in the hand of the King, and he was invested with the *ring*. The *sceptre* and the *rod* were successively presented, while the Lord of the Manor of Worksop supported the arm. The *crown*, sanctified by prayer, was raised above the King's head, and as it descended,

the universal shout of 'God save the King,' spoke the assent of the people to the right of the Sovereign. The peers and knights immediately assumed their caps and coronets. The King received the *Bible* with the appropriate admonition to its study. The Archbishop gave his benediction and the choir chanted *Te Deum*, during which the ceremonial kiss was given by the Monarch to the spiritual peers assisting in the coronation, and representing the church, espoused in the solemnity as the bride of the Sovereign. Being raised unto the throne, and surrounded by the great officers, the King received the homage of the assembled peers, and medals of gold were scattered amongst the people, as *largess* from their ruler. Solemn and triumphant strains from the choir accompanied this most interesting relic of feudal suzeran acknowledgment by all the lieges. The public act of communion as a testimony of faith and of religious gratitude succeeded, and solemn prayer concluded the ceremony.

During the time that these ceremonies were performing in the interior of the Abbey, a very different scene was enacting without. At a very early hour in the morning, in pursuance of her resolution, the Queen proceeded to Westminster, in a carriage drawn by six horses. Her approach was announced by loud acclamation, mingled with murmurs of discontent without the barrier, and accompanied with a kind of confusion and anxious agitation within. Her carriage, without the least interruption, passed the barrier and proceeded to the door of Westminster Hall, where she stopped, uncertain what course to take. Great confusion prevailed amongst the officers and soldiers on and near the platform. Astonishment, hurry, and doubt, agitated the minds of the populace, and every heart thrilled either with pity, surprise, or disapprobation. Her Majesty, after some consideration, accompanied by Lord and Lady Hood, and Lady Anne Hamilton, demanded admission. This movement produced a considerable sensation within, and the bar was immediately closed: the officer on guard was summoned to the spot, and demanded her Majesty's ticket; she replied, that she had none, and as Queen of England, needed none. He expressed his regret, but said he must obey his orders, and that he would not admit her without a ticket. She

made a similar application at the door of the Duchy of Lancaster, but there she met with the same repulse; accompanied by her attendants, she then demanded admission at a third entrance. When she arrived at the other extremity of the platform, her progress was arrested by a file of a dozen soldiers, who were ordered to form across the platform. Her Majesty then quitted it, and walked into the House of Lords, there to repeat the same request: in the course of a few minutes she returned, and having ordered the top of her carriage to be taken down, rode off amidst the mingled hisses and acclamations of the people.

The treatment which her Majesty received on the morning of this day was to her a most severe trial, but yet she studied to conceal her feelings. When she returned from the Abbey she sent for some friends to visit her, and she appeared to be in excellent spirits; she related to them the refusals with which she had met, and said 'the people did all they could.' She said, that she had put on her jewels to demonstrate to the people that she had not sold them; and when she was complimented for her courage in facing so many dangers, she replied, 'I never was afraid of anything in my life, I do not know what fear is; I do not wish to die, but when the moment comes, I shall not fear it.'

Although she thus feigned to be the gayest amongst the party, during the greater part of the morning, it was evident to her intimate friends, that the transactions of that day had tended more completely to subdue her natural heroism and magnanimity than any other occurrences which had hitherto taken place, and that the smile of satisfaction was only adopted as a veil to hide from observation her real mortification and unhappiness. She felt that she was only nominally a Queen, and that after all the efforts that had been made by herself and others to effect her recognition in that capacity, and the preservation of her rights, all their efforts had proved abortive, and she was nearly as much degraded as if the bill of pains and penalties had passed both Houses of the legislature.

The excitement occasioned by the gaudy pageant of the coronation had no sooner subsided, than the attention of the people was turned to the enormous expenses which had been

incurred, and which were to be defrayed from the public purse. The single item of 25,000*l.* for the robes of the King, which were only worn for a few hours, and then to be deposited as useless lumber on the shelves of the royal wardrobe, naturally met with the indignant reprobation of the people. They beheld their interests sacrificed, their distresses aggravated, their feelings trifled with, for the mere purpose of satisfying an inordinate love of pomp and pageantry in their Sovereign. With the last light that was extinguished at the banquet scene, at which, an hour before, shone the pride of English beauty and of English chivalry; with the last retiring step from the now deserted Hall, gradually subsided also the public interest in the pageant; and it was then discovered, that with the exception of the aristocracy, and the immediate dependents of the court, its retainers, and its minions, the public voice deprecated the ceremony; and that so far from adding to the popularity of the monarch, it abrogated from him all claim and title to the character of a patriotic King. The venal crew, hired for the purpose to exclaim God save the King, and to hiss the Queen, were people of a different stamp and character, than those who but a few days before had led the ranks and filled up the van of public opinion. They were the vain, the aristocratic, and the wealthy, who could pay for such exhibitions, while the spacious area in view was filled with the King's partisans, selected from the subordinate station and feeling in society; many even of these hung their heads with shame, as if conscious to themselves of the mean and dastardly part they were acting, in direct opposition to the general voice of their countrymen. This, indeed, was not a time that the King could *stoop* to feel, it was the holiday of hypocrisy and dissimulation. After the day of the coronation, the mask dropped from the royal face. The carnival was over, and the royal actor approached the crisis of his policy. The blow had taken effect. It had struck on the heart of the unhappy Queen. Private insult and secret persecution she could endure, but open insult, in the presence of the people, who but a few days before had attended her in triumph, accomplished her destruction: her former invincible resolution failed to support her; she saw, what the innocent look to after trial and ac-

quittal, to be of no use to her; she was still persecuted, still overlooked, and even her judges shunned her. Human nature could go no further.—In secret, and almost alone, she took to her chamber; no complainings broke forth, no attempt was made to impeach the impartiality of her enemies; all was forgotten, all was forgiven in whom the persecution originated, or who could be released by her death. 'Their triumph,' said the Queen, 'only precedes mine by a few hours; it is their turn next, and may God forgive them.'

The King was now the crowned monarch of the realm, and smitten with the love of peregrinating, he resolved first to show himself to his Irish subjects; not doubting that as the policy of his government had been so eminently directed to the redress of the grievances under which that part of his dominions were oppressed, he should be received with the most enthusiastic loyalty, as one of the greatest benefactors to their country which royalty had produced. Independently of which, he had always heard his subjects styled, the lords of the ocean, and he being the lord of the lords, it was flattering to his vanity to see himself riding in his gilded yacht, over the waves of that ocean, of which his flatterers, like those of Canute his predecessor, told him he held absolute dominion.

> Now let the silken pennons wave on high,
> Sprinkle the decks with sweets, with rosy scent,
> That no vile stench of aught that's maritime
> May reach the royal nose. Be hushed, ye waves,
> Blow soft, ye gales; rise from your coral caves,
> Ye Tritons, with your conches, with dulcet sounds
> Lull England's King to rest, and with your sports
> Make glad the royal heart.

It was early in the month of August, that the King departed on his tour to Ireland, in which country he arrived on the 12th. Not being able to reach the bay of Dublin, he landed at Howth, from the Lightning steam-packet, about four o'clock in the afternoon. His Majesty was, however, recognised before he left the steam-boat, and the most loyal feelings from 'the finest pesintry' in the world, welcomed him on shore. He very cordially acknowledged his gratification, and when in his

carriage shook hands with many of the throng and appeared for a time to drop the king, enjoying the absence of etiquette, and indulging in the humour of the moment. Signal-guns conveyed the first notice of the King's arrival; the bells of the churches took up the intelligence, and the characteristic enthusiasm of the nation was manifested on all sides. Immense crowds followed the course of the royal carriage, and from the steps of the vice-regal lodge, the King addressed the multitude in the following highly classical speech. To analyze this speech in all its parts, would be a task of no great difficulty, and from the sentiments expressed in it, and the language in which they were conveyed, we can easily suppose them to have been the genuine effusions of the royal mind. He began as follows: 'My Lords and Gentlemen, and my good Yeomanry, I cannot express to you the gratification I feel, at this kind and warm reception I have met with on this day of my landing amongst my Irish subjects. I am *obligeed* * to you, very much *obligeed* to you; I am particularly *obligeed* by your escorting me to my very door. I may not be able to express my feelings as I wish. I have travelled far; that is, I have made a long sea voyage; I have sailed down the English channel; and sailed up the Irish channel; and I have just landed from a steam-boat; besides which, particular circumstances have occurred, known to you all, of which it is better at present not to speak, (he alluded to the death of the Queen); upon these subjects I leave it to your delicate and generous hearts *to appreciate my feelings.* However, I can assure *you that this is the happiest day of my life.* (Most affectionate husband!!) I have long wished to visit you; my heart has always been Irish; from the day it first beat I have loved Ireland. This day has shown me that I am beloved by my Irish subjects. Rank, station, honours are nothing; but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects, is to me the most exalted happiness. I must now once more thank you for your kindness, and bid you farewell. Go

* Not all the preceptorship, nor the perseverance of John Kemble, could ever succeed in curing the King of this vulgar pronunciation.—It became at last fashionable at the royal table, for etiquette would not permit the ears of royalty to be offended, nor such a tacit insult offered to royal dignity, as to pronounce a word differently from the manner in which it escaped the kingly lips.

and do by me as I shall do by you; drink my health in a bumper; I shall drink all yours in a bumper of good Irish whiskey.'

We will not follow the steps of the panegyrists of royalty, who discovered in this speech a laudable degree of John Bull bluntness, and who declared it to be one of the most appropriate speeches which ever fell from the lips of royalty. It was said to have had such an impression on the warm and unsophisticated hearts of the Irish, that many although not used to the melting mood, shed tears; and tha they so far obeyed the injunctions of their patriotic monarch, that the streets of Dublin were crowded during the whole of the night with drunken people; in fact, the whole spirits of the nation seemed excited to a pitch of intoxication: in their own forcible language, they were mad with joy. The public authorities paid their duty at a private levee on the 15th and the great and noble of the land unaccustomed to the smiles of royalty, appeared to partake of the rapture of thelower ranks on the arrival of his Majesty; his apparent affablity delighted them, and the most extravagant hopes of national and individual benefit originated in this visit. The public entry into Dublin occurred on the 17th, and the King then took possession of the Castle, which became the Palace. On the 23rd the King dined with the Lord Mayor, and on the 24th he visited the Royal Society; and after exhausting the pleasures of Irish sociality, and visiting the wonders *of* the capital, he being himself the greatest wonder *to* the capital, he leparted on the 7th of September. His embarkation was greeed with the same enthusiastic cheers that had marked his larling. It is remarkable, that stormy and foggy weather, on both occasions, impeded the progress of the royal squadron. On Thursday, the 13th, the King landed at Milford Haven, and immediately afterwards commenced his journey to London,

The greatest expectations were entertained on both sides, from this visit of the King to Ireland, but they were fatally disappointed; nor indeed do we see on whatgood grounds those expectations could have been formed; the mere presence of the King possessed in itself no talismanic power to stifle the complaints of the Irish people, nor is it on record, that during the

residence of the King in Ireland, he applied himself in any manner to a discovery of the means by which the grievances of the people could be redressed. The love of show, of ostentation and parade, appeared to rule all his actions.—Kept in a continued whirl of pleasure and dissipation, he left the Irish coast as ignorant of the internal discord and misery of the country, as when he landed on it. He came to see the capital, not the *country;* not a single patriotic view was combined with his journey, it was the effect of royal whim, and he could give no other reason for it, than that it was his royal pleasure. The consequences of the visit soon manifested themselves: the feverish excitement of the period soon subsided, and the sanguine people, finding no immediate good from the King's presence, agreed to attribute a great portion of their existing evils to that cause. Poverty and misery awakened discontent and disunion; flames were kindled, murders perpetrated, and the most diabolical outrages prevailed. The counties of Limerick, Mayo, Tipperary, and Cavan, being in the greatest state of disturbance, were proclaimed by the privy council; a large military force was sent to subdue a spirit that was fostered by midnight meetings, and betrayed itself in the most atrocious crimes. Religious discord gangrened the wounds of political animosity: revenge and individual hatred dictated the darkest crimes, under the shadow of public good on the one side, and patriotic impulse on the other. Executions, imprisonments, and military occupation, were not sufficient to repress the tumults, nor prevent the dreadful conflagrations and sanguinary struggles to which they gave birth. The Lord Lieutenant was recalled, a special commission for the trial of offenders was sent into the disturbed districts, and punishment followed an excitement that power could not repress. The year ended amidst these horrors; the King's visit to Ireland appeared like a blink of sunshine on the island, but its dubious splendour was only the precursor of the storm; it rolled away, but the sullen lour continued threatening. Whilst the King, however, was revelling in the hospitality of the Irish capital, a very different scene was enacting in the vicinity of his English one.

The Queen-consort of George IV., after his coronation,

had retired to Brandenburg House, with the intention of leading a life of dignified retirement. The extreme agitation and excitement, however, which she had lately undergone, had wholly deranged the physical functions of her body; an obstruction of the bowels took place, which subsequently terminated in inflammation and mortification. Her Majesty's legal advisers, therefore, attended at Brandenburg House to assist in the arrangement of her property, and its disposition by will. Those who before developed no peculiar interest in her Majesty or her cause, now hastened to Brandenburg House, and the vicinity of her town residence was incessantly thronged with individuals of all classes of society, deeply interested in her welfare, and solicitous for her restoration.

The King, at this momentous period, had quitted England on his Irish excursion, and the intelligence of her illness was transmitted to him, yet no inquiries were ever made at Brandenburg House by any official agent of government, and the customary attentions which are due to exalted rank were wholly withheld from her. It would, indeed, have been absurd to expect that the King or his administration should have been affected by the news of the illness of the Queen, for they had long since ceased to feel any interest respecting her; and although her death might not be exactly desired, yet it was not likely to affect either their minds or their hearts.

Two circumstances occurred at this period of her illness, which are strongly illustrative of her conscious innocence, and the amiability of her disposition. On the 4th of August, when her professional advisers were receiving instructions respecting the disposition of her property, one of them suggested the propriety of sending a messenger to Italy to seal up her papers, to prevent their falling into the hands of her enemies:—'And what if they do,' exclaimed her Majesty; 'I have no papers that they may not see. They can find nothing, because there is nothing, nor ever has been to impeach my character.' One of her legal advisers said, he was perfectly aware of that, but he could not but believe that her enemies might put there what they did not find. She replied, 'I have always defied their malice, and I defy it still.'

Every symptom of approaching dissolution soon afterwards

manifested itself, and the continued existence of spasmodic affection convinced her attendants that nature must soon give up the struggle, and that a frame already exhausted by suffering of mind and body, must sink under the pressure of accumulated ills. Their apprehensions were well founded; for after sleeping for some time, her eyes became fixed, her muscles rigid, and a stupor ensued, from which she never awoke, and at twenty-five minutes after ten o'clock, on August 7th, 1821, expired the Queen-consort of George IV.

The intelligence of the death of her Majesty was immediately transmitted to the King, then in Ireland; and we here, in the most unequivocal terms, falsify the statements which were got up at the time, expressive of the decorous line of conduct which his Majesty pursued on hearing of the death of his consort. It is certain that he received the intelligence without a single emotion of a painful nature. To him it was certainly an event wholly unexpected; and to him it was almost unimportant. He neither loved nor respected her; the former passion he had never pretended to feel, and the latter sentiment could not be cherished by him, if he considered her guilty of the crimes which had been alleged against her, and which he certainly did not wholly discredit. It has, however, been stated by some of his fulsome panegyrists, that he never appeared in public from the time of the decease of his consort, to the removal of her corpse for interment in her native country. Such conduct, had it been founded in truth, would have gained him the esteem and respect of the reflecting part of the English people, but we know it to have been directly the reverse. The Queen died on the 7th of August,—the intelligence was immediately transmitted to Ireland, and the day after the receipt of the information, we find his Majesty haranguing his loyal subjects of Dublin, and telling them, *that it was the happiest day of his life;* and then he proceeded to pay a very odd kind of a compliment to the Irish nation, by telling them, that their *delicate* and generous hearts would know how to *appreciate his feelings* on the intelligence which he had just received. The highest compliment which his Majesty could have paid to the delicate feelings of the Irish, would have been to show to them that he possessed some

delicacy himself, and, instead of exhibiting his person to the public gaze, to have allowed some degree of decorum to govern his conduct, and have kept himself, to a certain extent, in deep retirement. The 18th of August was the day appointed for the removal of the corpse of her late Majesty from Brandenburg House to Harwich, and thence to be conveyed to Brunswick. On the 17th of August, when the people of the British metropolis were preparing to pay the last token of their respect to their deceased Queen; when the horses were already caparisoned which were to remove the remains of his broken-hearted wife from a country in which she was brought to reside, only to plunge her into the deepest misery; when the roads leading from her late residence were already lined with crowds of her late subjects, sympathizing with her fate; when companies, communities, and parishes were vying with each other in what manner they could best testify their grief at her death; in these moments of a nation's sorrow, how do we find the monarch of it employed?—Not in restricting himself, as decorum and common sense ought to have taught him, to the chambers of his palace, but, on the contrary, we actually find him making his public entry into his good city of Dublin, casting the gracious smile of his affability upon his Irish subjects—in the midst of his military guard, equipped in all their foppery, and gracefully lolling in his carriage, bloated and puffed up with the incense which a rabble crowd were strewing around him. However deep and unextinguishable might have been the animosity which he entertained for her during life, he ought to have considered that he had the character of a Christian to support, in which he had been *theoretically* well instructed, and that, as the victim of that animosity had been removed from him by death, to answer for her conduct at a higher tribunal than that before which he had cited her, it became him to throw the veil of oblivion over her earthly deeds; and when her corpse was lowered into the ship which was to bear it from the kingdom over which he ruled, he should, instead of revelling in pleasure and dissipation, have shown, by his example, that a good monarch and a good man are inseparable characters; and that, to lay a claim to the character of the former, without exhibiting the virtues of the latter,

only renders him finally amenable to the scorn and contempt of the people over whom he governs.

Let us, however, on the broad basis of impartiality, speak of the Queen as she deserved; and, in so doing, we cannot wholly acquit her of many indiscretions, into which, however, apologetically speaking, she might have been led by a high, uncontrollable spirit, and the keen feelings of a wounded mind. She acknowledged that she was a subject, and yet she reprobated, in some of her answers to the addresses of her fellow-subjects, the conduct of her King and husband too pointedly and severely; she spoke too much to the people; she appeared to seek to widen the distance between herself and the King; the acts of conciliation of one day were succeeded by threats on the next; she attacked the House of Peers, the House of Commons, the Privy Council, and the King. If she had not so acted, her popularity would have been much greater; she would have been even more supported by the higher classes of society, because to them she then would have appeared not to connect herself with any supposed faction to which, on political grounds, they were attached.

But death approached to prevent further conflict and opposition, and, abstractedly speaking, it must be confessed that her death was a benefit to the nation, for so long as she was in existence, the spirit of party animosity would have distracted the country, the result of which no human foresight could predict. Her name would have been a rallying-point for the disaffected and the disloyal; and although she might not openly have countenanced any violent proceedings, having a tendency to subvert the government or the constitution of the country, yet she might have been drawn inadvertently into the plans of the rebellious, and thereby have suffered in the estimation even of her warmest partisans. Nevertheless, the manner of her death forms a melancholy page in the records of history; she died the victim of grief, and that grief was occasioned by disappointed pride, and the repeated insults to which she was subjected by her cruel and relentless enemies. This fact must be put on the records of the country, and to monarchs it may read a lesson, which, amidst all the splendour of their equipages, the variety of their pleasures, and the fulsome flattery of their

courtiers, combined with all that glares and lures by its specious and meretricious appearance, must sometimes be made to reach their ears, if not to affect their hearts; that all their grandeur and dignity, all which now attracts the notice of the heedless and the acclamations of the ignorant, they may speedily be required to relinquish, and, in fact, to resign, at the very moment when they seemed to repose in security, and when, having overcome the difficulties which were opposed to them, they looked forward to many days of satisfaction and delight.

Royalty, in its abstract sense, is nothing more than common humanity decked out in a more splendid garb; its internals partake of all the fallacy of our nature, and it is only to be estimated, in the general scale of mankind, according to its adherence to, or its departure from, the established principles of right and wrong. The political constitutions which have been handed down to us by our forefathers, and which are erroneously supposed to possess that universal excellence, that they are fitted for all times and all circumstances, that is, that those institutions which were established in the comparatively darker ages of William the Conqueror, are equally adapted to the more enlightened times of a George IV.; it is, we repeat, to this false and dangerous error, that monarchy has crept into disrepute, and that legitimacy begins to be considered as nothing more than a legalized vehicle for the perpetuation of evils which strike at the root of all political prosperity and individual happiness. The dawn of that glorious day is breaking upon the benighted nations of Europe and of the world, when the divine right of kings will be treated as a chimera, and the character of a ruling monarch will be estimated according to the greater or less degree of virtue which he displays in the govern ment of his country; but not according to his slavish obedience to forms, customs, and ceremonies, which tend to check the growth of mental illumination, and consequently are in opposition to the general interests of the people. George IV. knew himself to be a king, and acted as such more than any other monarch that ever sat upon the throne of this or any other country: not even Tiberius, before he determined to adjudge Rome and the Roman people, in the pride and fulness of his despotic spirit, ever placed himself on such a pinnacle of abso-

lute dominion as George IV. of England. In the palace of the Escurial, or the Hermitage of St. Petersburgh, where the monarch knows no law but his own, and to which he renders his people subject by the mere fiat of his will, George IV. would have approximated to a Paul or a Ferdinand: at the same time, in justice to our late monarch, we must exonerate him from those baser crimes, the commission of which in their native countries have rendered the names of those monarchs hateful to the ears of the people.

The death of the Queen of England was the knell of the popularity of her illustrious husband; and whatever may be advanced by future historians, according to the view which they may have taken of the memorable events of his reign, and how far those events were brought about by his own immediate conduct, still it will be allowed, by the transactions of the King's reign immediately succeeding the demise of the Queen, that from that moment his domestic policy was detested; nor were the means resorted to which were in any degree competent to diminish the odium which, like some unctuous substance, clung to the creatures by whom he was surrounded. Few or any of the old nobility frequented the court, for they scarcely knew where to find the head of it. The King's personal friends, as they were called (for they were only his friends as far as the promotion of their own interests was concerned), were received into the royal circle as a species of formal appendage, whose value was estimated according to the extent of their servility, or their slavish acquiescence to the royal will. Parade, not society, was the cause of their congregation; and although we pretend not, like some modern Asmodeus, to have opened the roof of the royal palace, to take a strict cognizance of the scenes that were passing within, yet, were it not that, from very obvious causes, we are restrained from exposing the actors and their actions, we could exhibit the *subjects* which occupied the attention of the royal party, and which had as little connexion with the improvement of the country, its government and institutions, as poverty has to do with a bishop, or honesty with an attorney. All was sensual, selfish, and sycophantish; there was no external sympathy vibrating within to cheer the royal solitude from without; there was *one*

note, indeed which resounded responsively to his own, but it was not a *natural*, it was a kind of *falsetto*, peculiar to the Conyngham family, but the *keeping* of which added not to the good reputation of any of the parties. In all other respects the corridors of the palace resembled the monotony of an ascetic asylum; and it was only the occasional flash of arms from the terrace, and the rolling of the *réveillé* on the parade, which indicated the habitation of the living, and the abode of a British Monarch.

Without entering into an uninteresting and unimportant controversy relative to the interment of her Majesty, and going into details wholly unnecessary, it may be here simply stated, that the corpse of her Majesty was too speedily removed from Hammersmith; that the arrangements made by government respecting her interment were too rapidly devised and executed; that the feelings of her friends and domestics were not properly respected; and that the remains of the illustrious dead were not treated with that respect to which, at any rate, her rank and station entitled her.

The 18th of August was fixed on as the day when her corpse was to be conveyed to Harwich: in vain did her friends protest against the arrangements, in vain did they urge the personal inconvenience which they should sustain; the orders were imperative, and they were obeyed.

In the whole proceedings connected with the interment of her Majesty, government appeared determined to act in opposition to the direct wishes of the people: a system of the most mean and pitiful action was adopted, as if the poor mouldering corpse, in its gilded coffin, were still imbued with the power and will to give them any further annoyance, or as if they were resolved to exhibit the fulness of their rancour and revenge so long as it remained on English ground. Language is, indeed, too feeble to express the universal and unparalleled interest excited by the funeral of her Majesty. From Hammersmith to Romford, a distance of above twenty miles, not only the direct, but the cross-roads, were lined, for the whole day, with anxious and waiting spectators. The Mart and the Change were wholly unfrequented; the shops were closed; the bells tolled mournfully; mourning dresses were generally worn; the day was

rainy and dreary, and, in one word, the past history of the country cannot, probably, supply any fact which created feelings, which occasioned scenes, and effected results so distressing, as the death and interment of her Majesty.

We shall close this melancholy part of our history with a few cursory remarks, drawn up in the spirit of impartiality, and at a time when the sober judgment of the nation has been able to distinguish the line of policy which was adopted by the contending parties, and the errors of which have now become apparent to all. No event of modern times ever attracted such an immense assemblage of people as the funeral of her Majesty. That a violent political spirit was mixed up with the whole of the proceedings, cannot be denied; but on the other hand it was particularly improper, in the members of the administration to endeavour, by any proceedings, to prevent the gratification of curiosity so intense, and sympathy so sincere: yet, however, it must be admitted, that the populace should have coincided, rather than, by their determination, have occasioned the sacrifice of human life and the multitudinous evils which subsequently ensued. Still the wishes of the nation, when not inconsistent with its peace and happiness, are not to be disregarded by those who, for a time, have been intrusted with the management of the state. There could be no possible reason why the funeral procession should not have followed the route which was desired, not only by her Majesty's executors and her private friends, but also by thousands of her mourning subjects. If such a line of conduct had been adopted, the sacrifice of human life might have been spared, the public peace would have remained undisturbed, and the harmless and natural wishes of the population of the metropolis would have been gratified. It is certain that her friends yet constitute an overwhelming majority in the nation; the conduct of the government towards her is yet censured by multitudes; and as many of the members of that government are still living, an inquiry into their conduct is demanded, and an impeachment at the bar of that very House where they had intended to immolate their hapless victim. With the death, however, of George IV., a different tone was assumed by the government; those who had been deprived of their rank and honours for

espousing her cause, have been fully reinstated; and those who had become the immediate objects of ministerial aversion, and were prosecuted accordingly, have had ample remuneration made them for the injury which they sustained. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the present King, when Duke of Clarence, was strongly opposed to her late Majesty; and the energetic appeal of Mr. Denman, in regard to his Royal Highness, will ever stand on record as one of the most impassioned flights of oratory which ever sounded within the walls of the edifice where it was pronounced *.

To conclude: it must be acknowledged that the cause of the Queen, by certain persons, was only made an instrument of political discontent, and entirely a party question. In espousing her cause, they attacked the King—in defending her, they manifested a rebellious disposition towards him—in extolling her, they degraded him; and his criminatory proceedings were eagerly seized upon as the fittest opportunity for recrimination and vituperation. These feelings are, however, now gradually subsiding. The questions as between the respective parties, are beginning to be calmly and properly discussed; and it is now apparent to many, that the imperfections of the Queen were magnified into vices by slander and malice, and that her excellencies were absurdly extolled by friends whose attachment was too ardent, and whose opinion was, therefore, not sufficiently impartial.

The corpse of the ill-fated Caroline of Brunswick had been deposited but a very few weeks in the mausoleum of her forefathers, when, urged by an adventurous spirit of Quixotism, which appeared about this time to have taken possession of the royal mind, the King resolved that he would also visit Germany, and show himself to his loyal subjects of Hanover, where he flattered himself that he could not but be received with the most enthusiastic expressions of personal attachment

* When Mr. Denman, on the appointment of the Grey administration, was made Attorney-General, and was presented to the King, who knighted him on the occasion, the memorable words of 'Come forth, thou slanderer,' must have obtruded themselves on the royal memory, and have given rise to feeling snot of the most pleasant kind. It, however, speaks much for the character of the present King, that, where the interests of the nation are concerned, his own private feelings are not allowed to intrude themselves.

and veneration. He had, by his wise and prudent administration, done so much for Hanover, that Hanover could not but testify her gratitude to so great a benefactor; he had given the country one of his own brothers as a governor; and when the great talent is taken into consideration which the several branches of the Royal Family have always exhibited in the art of governing a country, the Hanoverians have great reason to be proud of the governor who was sent them, and their hearts ought to have been filled with gratitude to him who made so admirable a selection for them. Independently, however, of the great benefit which would accrue to Hanover from the presence of its sovereign, and highly necessary as it was that that sovereign should have ocular demonstration of the manner in which his German dominions were governed, there was another very important subject which influenced the royal will to undertake so perilous a journey, and to expose his royal person to all the inconveniences of German travelling:—he had never seen his royal stud of cream-coloured horses—some of them in the mews in this country were waxing old and useless; that is, if at any time they were of any use at all, except on occasions of extraordinary pomp; and, therefore, a fresh selection was to be made from the Hanoverian stud, and who so proper to make that selection as the monarch himself—the only individual whom they would have the honour to draw to and from his parliament house?—that is, if he could ever find time or inclination to show himself there at all; nor could the English people refuse to pay the expenses of a journey which was to be attended with so much benefit to the country which he was about to leave, and the country he was about to visit: the most gracious intention, therefore, of his Majesty to absent himself for a short time from his loving subjects in England, became the general theme of conversation. The preliminary step to his departure was taken early in the month of September, by the appointment of a commission for the execution of the royal duties during the temporary absence of the Sovereign; and other necessary arrangements being made, his Majesty embarked on the 22d of September, at Gravesend, and, after rather a rough passage, which he endured reclining

on a sofa, he landed safely at Calais; but as he did not enter that port as the King of England, but under an Hanoverian title, he was not received with the honours due to his exalted rank. From Calais he travelled through Lisle, Brussels, Aix-la-Chapelle, Dusseldorf, and Minden; and on the 5th of October he entered his German dominions, the evening of which day he spent at Osnaburg. The inhabitants of the town were extatically moved to see within its walls the brother of their most worthy, exemplary, and moral bishop—the Right Reverend Father in God, the Duke of York. The Burgomasters and citizens voted an address to his Majesty, expressive of the extreme joy which animated their hearts in beholding so great a monarch within their walls; and they failed not, by way of climax, to acknowledge the great benefits which they derived, temporally and spiritually, from the wise and paternal administration of their revered bishop. His Majesty replied in the most condescending terms, assuring the good people of his city of Osnaburg, that he should always entertain a most grateful sense of the flattering manner in which he had been received, and that they would always find him disposed to promote their interests to the utmost of his power. The chief authorities of the city were invited to dine with his Majesty on the following day; and on his repairing to the palace, the principal officers were presented to him, to whom he declared that he felt a joy which he could not express in finding himself on the native soil of his illustrious predecessors. As the review of troops necessarily forms one of the raree-shows attendant upon the peregrinations of royalty, his Majesty issued his commands that the 8th regiment of infantry, which was then stationed at Osnaburg, should hold themselves in readiness, on the following morning, to be reviewed by him. The English army had already been considerably improved in their equipment, by the instructions and information which had been given, on that momentous subject, by that *élite* of the royal family, the Duke of Cumberland; and the moment was now arrived when his Majesty was to be practically convinced, that the recommendations of his worthy brother of Cumberland were founded, not only on an exquisite taste, but also with that attention to economy which could not fail to meet

with the approbation of the English people. We may be accused of irony by some shallow minds; but when we have it in our power to state, that the King of England, the most powerful monarch of the world, with the view of benefiting his country, braved the perils of the ocean, and the almost impassable sands of Hanover, to bring away with him the pattern of a German uniform, and which he subsequently commanded to be introduced into a certain English regiment of infantry, which metamorphosed the men into mountebanks, and the officers into some strange pantomimic oddities, in which they were actually ashamed to show themselves—we may assuredly be allowed to use the lash of ridicule, and, like our worthy prototype, the celebrated Pantagruel, who knew more of kings and of kings' actions than we do, 'to give the kick to the fool, and the strap to the ass's back.'

The King reviewed his Hanoverian regiment of infantry, and the glorious emanation arose in his mind, *viz.* the establishment of a new order, under the cognomen of the Guelphic order, which was to be bestowed on those who had signalized themselves in butchering their fellow-creatures 'on the field and the flood,' and which was to rival, in the renown of its members, the famed Legion of Honour, established by a man who raised himself *to* a throne by his transcendent talents, and *at* whose throne all the monarchs of Europe, save ONE, bent their knee, in supplicant submission. We could say much upon the institution of these orders, the remnants of our feudal ages, but we shall merely quote the lines of the first of Scottish poets.

> The King may mak a belted knight,
> A marquess, duke, and a' that,
> An honest man 's aboon his might,
> Gude faith, he mauna fa' that.

On the day after his departure from Osnaburg, his Majesty was met at Nieuberg by the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, the Court House there having been previously prepared for their reception. A sumptuous banquet was given by the authorities of the place, at which the three royal brothers attended; and at which his Majesty gave to his Hanoverian subjects the same information which he had given to his Irish

ones; assuring them that it was the happiest day of his life, and that the promotion of their prosperity should always be the predominant feeling of his heart. The following night he slept at the palace of Herrenhausen, and on the 11th of October, a salute of one hundred and one guns announced his Majesty's entrance into the capital of the kingdom of Hanover. The Germans are not a people easily roused to excessive ebullitions of joy, and when even in a state of excitation, their mode of expressing it resembles more the awkward, clumsy plunges of the cart-horse, than the light and frisky gambols of the racer. This was, however, the first time that the Hanoverians had beheld their King; they had heretofore been under the government of the Brunswick family, under the title of Electors; but when the Electorates were abolished under the new constitution of Germany, and the continental Monarchs had formed a congress at Vienna to settle the boundaries of their respective empires, Hanover was promoted to a kingdom, and the Sovereign of England became the first Sovereign of Hanover. To view, therefore, a member of the Brunswick family within the walls of their city, as the first of their kings, and, according to the customary phraseology, the very best and wisest of kings, was certainly an event well calculated to rouse even the proverbial phlegm of the German character; and although they might not exhibit themselves, in the manner of the Irish, as intoxicated with joy, they actually threw off the greater portion of their natural coldness, and received their Monarch with all the warmth of enthusiasm and the most unfeigned delight. Political hostility appeared for a time to be at an end; party spirit was quelled; noble and ignoble flocked around their King to welcome his arrival, and he publicly declared that he came amongst them to show himself as their benefactor, to redress any grievances under which they suffered, and to cement the bonds of his two kingdoms in a more close and indissoluble union. The Hanoverians now believed in reality that Heaven had sent them the best of Kings; and on the day when he was drawn through the capital in an open carriage by eight cream-coloured horses, exhibiting himself to the gaze of all the inhabitants of the city, the good Hanoverians then were further convinced that Heaven had

also sent them one of the most affable and condescending of Monarchs.

It now became necessary to feel the pulse of the Hanoverians, how far they might be disposed to flatter the vanity of their Sovereign by putting themselves to the expense of a coronation. It was hinted that such a ceremony would be highly agreeable to their King, and the national pride was cherished by the promulgation of the most important fact, that the inhabitants of the city of Hanover would be able to boast of having witnessed the performance of a ceremony of which the inhabitants of no other German city could boast. Notwithstanding, however, the great loyalty of the worthy Hanoverians, there were some murmuring spirits amongst them, who, with the knowledge that the public coffers were in a most impoverished state, ventured to insinuate, that as there was no existing law in Hanover which imposed the necessity of the coronation of the Monarch, and especially as it was known to all, that his Majesty had not honoured them with his visit, with any intent of being crowned, whether, under those circumstances, the incurring of so heavy an expense might not be avoided, without offering the slightest insult to royalty, or detracting a tittle from the royal dignity. The Hanoverian economists also suggested, that as the robes worn by their King a few months before at his coronation in England, could not be much the worse for wear, whether the loan of them could not be procured, which would prove a great saving in the general expenses of the ceremony. To this wise suggestion, however, a positive objection was raised, that the coronation could not be postponed until the arrival of the royal robes from London, independently of the personal insult which would be offered to their Sovereign by the adoption of such a parsimonious system. It was, therefore, finally determined that the coronation should take place in despite of the suggestions of the economists, and it was performed, as the Hanoverian journalist expresses himself, 'with a splendour worthy of the august Monarch on whose illustrious head the crown of Hanover was placed, and for whose future health and happiness tens of thousands of his admiring subjects sent forth their prayers to heaven.' On this occasion the whole city was illuminated at

night; and the King, with his two royal brothers, were seen, with the utmost condescension and affability, parading the streets, enjoying the brilliance of the scene, and delighted with the happiness of the people. An event of this kind could not fail to inflame the imagination of the Hanoverian poets, and in their Heliconian flights they so deified their monarch, that his natural vanity, even with its cormorant appetite, was satiated; and when he left his good people of Hanover, he assured them that there was not any trait in their character which excited his admiration more than the absence of all servile flattery and hyperbolical eulogium of his virtues.

George IV. was never much addicted to the sports of the field, whatever he may have been in his late years with his beloved Marchioness to the sports of the water; but as he could not be supposed to have acquired a just knowledge of the manners and habits of his Hanoverian subjects, as displayed in their sports and pastimes (and by which a very just criterion can be formed of the moral character of a people), without witnessing a German hunt, it was determined that a day should be set apart, when his Majesty was to be inducted into the art of slaughtering a few hundreds of rabbits, hares, deer, and wild-boars, according to the German fashion, and to which his royal brother of Cambridge is so much attached. This manner of hunting consists in the sportsmen stationing themselves at any given place; whilst a number of huntsmen and peasants, forming themselves into a circle, at a considerable distance, and gradually concentering themselves, drive all the game into the open place where the sportsmen are stationed. On this occasion, as one of the best *reviers* was chosen for the amusement of the King, two thousand three hundred and twenty-six head of game were killed. The rabbits become the perquisites of the peasants, who merely skin them, as almost all Germans entertain a strong prejudice against that animal as an article of food.

The King spent ten days in his Hanoverian capital, amidst rejoicings, public festivals, and private entertainments. The military, of course, were reviewed, and, as a further matter of course, his Majesty was graciously pleased to express his high approbation of the excellent discipline which the troops dis-

played: he then received the civic deputations, listened with matchless gravity to their hyperbolical effusions, in which he was called upon to believe himself the greatest monarch that ever trod the German soil. He then visited the University of Gottingen, where he most condescendingly

> ——— tasted some of the water Gru-
> el, presented to him by the Tu-
> tors of the very renowned U-
> ———niversity of Gottingen.

He then attended a civic ball, at which he danced a polonaise with the lady of Herr von Schimmelpennick; waltzed with the Burgomaster's eldest daughter, who had never before been entwined in the arms of royalty; accommodated himself most aptly to his people by speaking German—that is, such German as is taught in England; he flattered his people by wearing only the Guelphic Order; and, after so many instances of his affability and condescension, he departed from Hanover, and in a few weeks the inhabitants of the city thought no more of the visit of the King than as one of the common occurrences of the day.

The King, on his return to England, appeared anxious, by a life of seclusion, to recreate himself after the fatigues and perils of his tour to Germany; and in the society of the Marchioness of Conyngham, and in devising improvements and alterations in the royal edifices at Virginia Water and the Cottage, 'Richard was himself again,' and his loyal people of England were rejoiced to hear that the health of their Monarch was fully restored.

Of the Marchioness of Conyngham, this celebrated favourite of the late King, it is difficult to ascertain when, or at what time he added her to the royal circle: it is however certain, that the sincerest regard subsisted between them, and that her influence over the royal mind, to the very last moments of the life of the King, was perhaps greater than had ever been exercised by any other female. The Marchioness had been brought up by her late excellent father, Joseph Denison, Esq., with the greatest care and propriety; her education was accomplished, and her manners polished and refined; the residence of her husband

Melville delin. et sculp.

THE KING'S COTTAGE WINDSOR PARK.

about the court might have formed a sufficient protection for the honour of his wife; but when the influence of the Marchioness took a political turn, the power superinduced on the supposed attachment of the King excited surmises in respect to the attachment subsisting between them, which the closest connexion, in the ordinary opinion of mankind, could alone give birth to and promote. It was natural for the Marchioness of Conyngham to provide for her family; and had she confined her influence to the promotion and advancement of her sons and daughters, some of whom might have been worthy of the royal favour, no fault would perhaps have been found in the moderate course adopted, in disciplining them for public employments. She stood at the fountain of emolument and preferment; and where is the individual, so placed as she was, who would not have taken every advantage of that situation to promote the aggrandizement of her family? There, however, she should have stopped: the King, in the case of the Duke of York, had received a very salutary lesson, if he had been an apt scholar, of the danger of royalty overstepping the bounds of propriety and justice in the exercise of its patronage, influenced by the Circean charms of some favourite Messalina, but the King in this respect exhibited himself as a simple abecedarian; still the country would, perhaps, not have murmured, had not in some instances the very laws of the constitution been infringed, and the domestic policy of the country endangered, by the effects of some unknown influence, which, as it was secret, was fraught with the greater injury. Had it been confined to merely family connexions, no voice would perhaps have been raised against it; but when the highest offices in the church were bestowed on persons scarcely previously heard of—when political parties rose and fell, and ministers were created and deposed, to gratify the ambition of a female—then the palace of the King appeared as if surrounded by some pestilential air—the old hereditary counsellors of the King avoided the court, as alike fatal to private property and public honour. Another course of policy would have been wiser and less questionable for the character of both parties, and the seclusion of the King, at once dignified and social, would have

excited to a greater degree the respect and sympathy of his subjects; but the entrance to Windsor Castle was, as it were, hermetically sealed by the enchantress within to all but the favoured few. The privilege of the *entrée* was curtailed to the very old friends of the King, and even the commonest domestics in the Castle were constrained to submit to the control of the Marchioness. The court of George IV. certainly differed widely from that of Charles II., although the number and reputation of their several mistresses were nearly the same in favour and character; but George IV. had no confiscations to confer on the instruments of his pleasures. It is not our wish to make any personal allusions, nor to institute any comparisons, which might wound the feelings of certain illustrious personages; but the reigns of Charles II. and George IV., dissimilar as they might be in some respects, possessed, however, this similarity—that a spurious and illegitimate progeny were in neither case thrust forward to the contempt of all decency, and a heavy tax on the courtesy and forbearance of virtuous society. But if it be true that the late King left to the Marchioness more than half a million of money, the outrage is morally the same as if estates had been alienated, or titles bestowed, to gratify her ambition; and the memory of the King will survive for the lavishment of sums raised on a people already borne down by the weight of taxation, and for whose sufferings, if a little more sympathy had been shown, it would have mitigated the weight of those burdens which prostrate their energies, aggravate their censures, and, in the paroxysm of resentment, shut their eyes to any other good qualities which the King might possess, who, adopting a different system, might have acquired the character of a wise, generous, and magnificent monarch, and the father of his people, to the latest posterity.

In the opening speech to the Parliament on the 5th of February, 1822, the King alluded to the gratification afforded him by Irish loyalty, and to the deep concern caused by the altered state of things in that unfortunate country.

'Notwithstanding this serious interruption to public tranquillity,' said the King, 'I have the satisfaction of believing that my presence in Ireland has been productive of very bene-

T. Baynes, del.

H. Adlard sculp.

WINDSOR CASTLE.

London, Published by Thomas Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, 1830

ficial effects.' What those beneficial effects were, however, the King forbore to mention; he was persuaded into the belief of it, for so great was the strength of his ruling passion, that he was vain enough to believe that the sight of him alone was almost a panacea for the evils of a state, and that all his motions had some direct tendency to exalt him in the eyes of his people.

The tumults in Ireland, and the depressed state of the agricultural interests in England, which became every day more apparent, engaged the full attention of Parliament. It was found necessary to add to the existing law to repress the former, and a new corn bill struggled through both houses in order to support the latter. In the course of the session, a metallic currency—that great cure for all the calamities of a nation, according to the hypothesis of some celebrated political economists—was strenuously urged, and it appeared to gain ground even among those who were originally its most formidable opponents. The interest of a part of the national debt was reduced; some needless places were abolished; but the bloated leeches of the pension list were not called upon to disgorge any portion of their legalized plunder of the public purse. His Majesty declared that the revenue had increased; but had he looked into the returns before he made his speech, he would have discovered that the exact reverse was the case. He also informed the representatives of the people, that the manufactures of the country were in a flourishing state; but not having notified to what particular manufactures he alluded, the public took it for granted, that as the greatest distress existed in all the principal manufacturing districts of the country, his Majesty could not refer to any other manufactures than those which were peculiarly employed in the embellishment of his palaces, or the decoration of his royal person.

A remarkable feature of this session was an address to the King to solicit his Majesty's royal sanction to a national work, viz., the republishing of a regular series of the ancient historians of the kingdom. The unanimous approval of Parliament followed the proposal, but there the business ended—the republication of the historians, and the junction of the Medi-

terranean and the Red Sea, came into Parliament at the same time, and there they have remained ever since.

On the 6th of August the King in person prorogued the Parliament; again he adverted to Ireland, and still expressed his determined conviction that his presence in that country had been attended with great benefit to the Irish people. Alluding, however, to the famine and distress which had existed there (one of the *beneficial effects* of his visit), and also to the large sums voted by Parliament, and collected by private charity for the relief of the Irish people, his Majesty was most graciously pleased to believe, that benevolence and sympathy, so conspicuously manifested, would essentially promote the object he ever had at his heart—that of cementing the connexion between every part of the empire, and of uniting in brotherly love and affection all classes and descriptions of his subjects.

Some slight alterations in the ministry had been made previously to the opening of Parliament. Mr. Peel received Lord Sidmouth's seals of office as Secretary for the Home Department, and the Right Honourable C. W. Wynn kissed hands on his appointment as President of the Board of Control.

The great event of the year 1822, as it regarded the Sovereign, was a visit to Scotland. A circumstance, of a melancholy nature, however, affected his Majesty before he landed on Scottish ground, and that was, the sudden death by suicide of his minister, the Marquess of Londonderry. It was remarked as a singular coincidence, that the death of the Queen and that of the Marquess of Londonderry preceded his Majesty's journies to Ireland and Scotland, and that both occurred very nearly at the same period of the year.

The eccentric conduct of the Marquess had not escaped the attention of either the King or the Duke of Wellington, and the latter had, in writing, stated his suspicions, recommending him to the attention of his friends. Less discriminating observers, however, had not discovered any apparent aberration, or at least had not drawn similar inferences. On the King's birth-day, the 12th, the Marquess, evidently suffering under mental alienation, put a period to his existence, by cutting his throat with

a penknife; and he died in the arms of his medical attendant, at Foot's Cray, his Lordship's seat, in the county of Kent.

Pressure of business was assigned as the original cause of a disease which, affecting his brain, produced that degree of insanity from which the sufferer sought relief in suicide. A coroner's inquest was held on the body, but the few facts adduced did not tend to throw any light upon the original disorder which caused this fatal act. It appeared, in evidence, that in public business his Lordship's mind wandered; in private concerns, asperity and petulance towards those whom he loved best, severity and anger towards his servants, wholly different from the usual gentleness of his manners, and doubt of those whom he most trusted, marked the progress of one of those delusions under which the strongest minds are apt to give way. Suspicion and dread of some unexplained danger, or from some unknown hand, appeared to engross his Lordship's mind. He was buried in rather a private manner, but all his colleagues in office, and members of his own rank in the kingdom, followed him to the grave: his assigned resting-place was between the tombs of Pitt and Fox. At the moment of raising the coffin from the hearse, an indefinable shout of horrid triumph echoed through the Abbey; it was the voices of wretches gathered to insult the dead, and shock the living. Perhaps no minister who ever ruled the destinies of this country was more unpopular than the Marquess of Londonderry; in private life, however, he was respected and beloved. His talents are best described by negatives: his abilities were not splendid; they were not insignificant; he was not eloquent; he was not capable of extensive plans; he could not condescend to unworthy intrigues. How, then, did he reach the station which he occupied? How did he fill it? What are the monuments of his public virtues? Posterity must answer these questions. His friends and his enemies still live; but the admiration of the one, and the detestation of the other, will die away, and from the multitude of words, the records of his actions will be impartially and simply culled, and by them will his pretensions stand or fall.

Perhaps the greatest blot in the political life of the Marquess of Londonderry, and which involved his sovereign in the indig-

nation which was uttered by the English nation, was, his tacit adherence to the principles of the Holy Alliance ; nor can it be denied, that at the celebrated Congress of Vienna he degraded the country, and the Sovereign whom he represented, by a venal truckling to a system which was in direct opposition to the principles of the British constitution, and to which an English monarch dared not give his assent, unless he entertained no objection to finish his life on the scaffold. The administration of the Marquess of Londonderry was one continued series of political and diplomatical blunders. He appeared to possess little or no knowledge of the individual relations of the European powers, and he allowed even the minor powers to beard the English Lion in his very den without uttering a single growl to frighten them away. The aggression of France on Spain would not have been tolerated by any other minister than the Marquess of Londonderry, and it did more to perpetuate that unfortunate hostility, which, as Hume remarks, has subsisted ever since the reign of Edward III. between France and England, than the mere cursory observer of the times can detect. The repressed energies of the English at the time were but a half-stifled animosity, like a spring violently compressed, and which may, unfortunately, some day bound into tremendous action, with an elasticity proportioned to the pressure that has borne upon it. The policy of the Castlereagh administration was anything but English ; it smacked of continental despotism, and of continental enmity to whatever bore the name or character of liberty; and if that policy could persuade the genius of history, that humanity, science, and the love of our kind—that the rights of man, liberty, and patriotism, are abuses (a word that is constantly heard amidst its declamations), then would it appear in his tablets with a grandeur in which politics have never yet appeared. But as the genius of history is also the genius of humanity, and stands exalted far above cabinets and despotic power, and shields, for all ages, the sacredness of eternal truth, and designates under that name all the sacred possessions which bind man to his fellow-man, and all to their Creator, his tablets will therefore denounce the acts of the Castlereagh policy, on this, as well as on the other side of the

Alps and Pyrenees, as works of deep and black atrocity; because it was a policy which sought to change truth into falsehood—to exterminate all that is high and holy in man—all that exalts his species, all that approximates him to the Deity; and strives to consign him to the empire of darkness, to destroy his native grandeur, and to brutalize his nature.

To return more immediately to the personal history of George IV.: he had exhibited himself to his Irish and his Hanoverian subjects, and it would have been considered as a tacit insult, if the royal pleasure had not been expressed to receive the adulatory homage of his Scottish ones. Extremes always centre in a species of resemblance: his Majesty had visited the southern extremity of his European dominions, and he now determined to visit the northern extremity: the resemblance consists in the motive—an inordinate love of vanity and ostentation. As a palliative, however, the report was very judiciously and politically promulgated, that the expenses of the northern tour were not to be defrayed by the people, but from the Privy purse; but the report and the truth were afterwards found to have no relation with each other: then it was stated that, although the country might have been minus a few thousands, yet, considering the accession of health which his Majesty acquired by his maritime trips, and consequently the great benefit which would accrue to the country by the prolongation of the life of so excellent a Monarch, the expenditure of so small a sum, compared with the great advantages derived, ought rather to be commended than censured.

We are fully aware that every particular relative to royalty, to an Englishman, possesses peculiar interest; and we also know that the actions of royalty should not be trumpeted forth in the every-day language of common life. A king is not supposed to speak and act like other men, and therefore his words and deeds demand the high and pompous tone which certain journalists know so well how to assume, according to the rank of the characters whom they have to describe. Upon this principle we cannot do better than to give a transcript of the important movements of his Majesty on his departure from England to visit his Scottish dominions; and if some puerilities should be discovered in our recital, we must shelter ourselves

under the plea that we are writing of royalty and of royalty's actions.

His Majesty embarked at Greenwich, on Saturday, the 10th of August. The river and its banks, from London to Greenwich, appeared in the highest state of animation, as if actually swarming with human life,—so numerous were the multitudes assembled to bid farewell to the Sovereign previously to his tour. Particulars on such an occasion are of the highest importance,—therefore a journal of those times very properly informs us, 'that a party of hussars, guarding a plain carriage, were his Majesty's only equipage; he wore a blue surtout, and foraging cap; his trousers were white, and his boots were à la Wellington.' The shouts of the different groups of spectators announced his progress along the line of the road, until the royal standard floating over the Royal Hospital announced the arrival of the King. Thousands of voices hailed him as he ascended the side of the royal barge. The breeze waited, as a certain journalist has it, until his Majesty was fairly on board, when it very loyally sprung up, filled the sails, and as the royal yacht and her little convoy passed Woolwich, a royal salute was fired. The regiment on duty, drawn up in front of the arsenal, presented arms. At Tilbury Fort, cheers from the people and music from the soldiery hailed the Monarch as the vessel bounded over the waves. Southend and Sheerness were passed with the same demonstrations of loyalty. Here the Lord Mayor, and other authorities who had escorted the King down the river, left the royal squadron, and returned in their barge to town. The tide now checked the progress of his Majesty, on which the ships lay to in the Channel for the night, and weighed anchor at the dawn of the morning, amid the roar of the guns from the ships at the Little Nore, and from the batteries at Sheerness.

At Harwich, Scarborough, and the intermediate places, crowds put off as the squadron neared the shore, and thousands pressed round the Royal George, which had far outsailed her convoy. The King acknowledged these attentions with his usual grace, exhibiting himself on deck, and returning the hearty salutations of his subjects. At the beginning of the voyage a calm delayed the vessel which bore 'Cæsar and his

fortunes,' but a brisk gale afterwards sprung up, which continued until the arrival off Berwick, when the squadron was again becalmed, and it was not until Wednesday, the 17th, that the Royal George cast anchor off Leith. His Majesty determined to pass the night on board the vessel, to the great disappointment of the worthy magistrates and inhabitants of the burgh, who had cheerfully submitted to the inconvenience of a heavy and continued rain, in the hope of being cheered with the sunshine of the King's countenance. To be ' all things to all men,' the King appeared on deck in a naval uniform, and acknowledged the salutes of the vessels in the roads as they did him homage.

On Thursday the crafts assembled under their deacons, the guild under its dean, the town-council under the provost and baillies, and all the respectable inhabitants, according to their classes and orders, in their holiday gear, adorned with a St. Andrew's cross, and each man bearing, in token of welcome, a white willow wand. While these preparations were in progress at Leith, similar arrangements were made on a larger scale in the city itself. That the King might not take possession of the capital without the becoming resistance, a barrier was erected, where terms of capitulation might be regularly agreed upon ; and on this vantage ground, the Lord Provost and magistrates, in full robes and the official insignia, took a position. The space of a mile and a half, from this barrier to the shore, was filled with people in all manner of vehicles, and in every grade of society, from the barefooted lassie to the noble and flaunting dame ; from the kilted Highlander to the more haughty and bedizened Southron. Windows, doors, and house-tops were occupied ; the branches of the trees became perches for the less elevated, and the ridges of the walls maintained their single files. In the distance, steeples, towers, and turrets, mound and mountain, were put in requisition as a forlorn hope. There was an assembly of the nation.

At length hath Scotland seen
The presence long desired ;
The pomp of royalty
Hath gladdened once again

Her ancient palace, desolate how long!
From all parts, far and near,
Highland and Lowland, glen and fertile carse,
The silent mountain lake, the busy port,
Her populous cities and her pastoral hills,
In generous joy convened
By the free impulse of a loyal heart,
Her sons have gathered, and beheld their King.
Land of the loyal! as in happy hour
Revisited, so was thy regal seat,
In happy hour for thee
Forsaken, under favouring stars, when James
His valediction gave,
And great Eliza's throne
Received its rightful heir—
The peaceful and the just.
A more auspicious union never earth
From eldest days had seen,
Than when, their mutual wrongs forgiven,
And gallant enmity renounced,
With honour, as in honour fostered long,
The ancient kingdoms formed
Their everlasting league.

SOUTHEY'S *Ode on the King's Visit to Scotland.*

Those acquainted with the place, and the character of the Scottish people, need not be told that scenery and circumstance gave unusual effect and interest to this event. The castle, and the long-deserted palace of a line of kings, form the beginning and the end of one street, rising from the valley to the ridge of the rock; the palace bosomed in the hollow, the castle crowning the craggy precipice; houses of immense height, unite these objects by a singularly picturesque avenue, sufficiently irregular to give it interest, and not so incongruous as to deform it; a deep natural fosse separates this immense mole from the neighbouring ground; looking down from the castle towards the palace, the Old Town, with every possible diversity of building, college, cathedral, cottage, and mansion, extends, and is continued on one side of the Calton Hill. On the left, the New Town, with the strictest regard to uniformity, stretches its long line of corresponding buildings; street answers street, and square conducts to square, distinguished in

little more than in name. Above the palace, and opposite to the castle, rises the Calton Hill, the acropolis of the modern Athens, circled with castellated buildings in the manner of a fortification, crowned with temples, and surmounted by a monument, an immense obelisk rising from its summit. All these objects are visible on the approach from Leith.

A principle of veneration is an essential ingredient in the mind of the Scottish people. Faithful attachment to acknowledged and hereditary chieftainship is a consequence of a long-continued and scarcely abolished system of feudal superiority. Love of country and self-respect are united with religious feeling in their submission to the powers that be. With these sentiments, few, who could accomplish the means, neglected to avail themselves of this opportunity of gratifying strong, natural, and habitual feelings; and that propriety and decency of demeanour and appearance which are characteristic of the people added gravity and respectability to their expressions of enthusiasm; their shouts were not the noisy ebullition of sanguine hopes and extravagant joy. There were a depth of sentiment, a chastened and regulated delight, which, arising from individual feeling, harmonized the general chorus. It was not wild exultation, but the genuine expression of pure and heartfelt homage that greeted the King.

His Majesty landed on the spot sacred to the tread of royalty in the legendary chronicles of this enthusiastic people. The officers of the household and members of the state, in splendid uniforms and appropriate insignia, awaited his landing. He wore the full-dress uniform of an admiral, with St. Andrew's cross, and a large thistle in the gold-laced hat. The Lord Lieutenant of Mid-Lothian and the Lord Chamberlain received his Majesty on shore, and the senior magistrate congratulated him on his arrival on Scottish ground. The King mounted his carriage, while cavalry and Highland infantry, and the gentlemen archers of the royal guard, saluted him in the due forms of their respective services. The Usher of the White Rod sent his herald to the barrier to give the mysterious three knocks, so necessary at the gates of a city, and the Provost of Edinburgh acted the same farce as the Mayor of London. In gracious compliance with the demand which the knocking

introduced, the barriers gave way, and the King entered the city. The keys were delivered and returned on the spot, and the address was rehearsed here and repeated afterwards for the benefit of an answer. The royal cortège was peculiarly interesting, from the variety of costume adopted, without pride or affectation, but in strict compliance with the dress of the country. The King himself declared that the beauty of the scenery, the splendour of the display, and the deep thunder of his welcome, affected him more than anything else in the course of his life. The people, in their turn, were equally delighted with the condescension and affability of their Sovereign.

His Majesty passed the night of the 18th at Dalkeith, as a guest of the Duke of Buccleugh ; and the following day held a levee in the palace of Holyrood House, again restored to the dignity of its former years. The King, on this occasion, wore the Highland costume, selecting the tartan of the Stuarts as the colour of his dress. His friend, Sir William Curtis, with less dignity but as much good humour, gratified the vanity of the Highlanders, and excited the mirth of all, by appearing in the costume of a chief *without a tail*, which, according to the Scottish phraseology, means the attendant retainers. Three thousand persons paid their respects to his Majesty, at a court held at Holyrood House on the day following. His Majesty received his visiters in a field-marshal's uniform, danced with the young, talked with the old, and won the heart of the Scottish ladies. A splendid feast was given by the Lord Provost in the Parliament House. The venerable Dr. Baird said grace, and Sir Walter Scott officiated as *croupier*. When the King's health had been drank, his Majesty stood up, and said, 'I am quite unable to express my sense of the gratitude which I owe to the people of this country, but I beg to assure them that I shall ever remember, as one of the proudest moments of my life, the day I came amongst them, and the gratifying reception they gave me. I return you, my Lord Provost, my Lords and Gentlemen, my warmest thanks for your attention this day; and I can assure you, with truth, with earnestness and sincerity, that I shall never forget your dutiful attention to me upon my visit to Scotland, and particularly the pleasure I have derived from dining in your hall this day.'—God save the

King, and immense cheering, followed.—The King continued, 'I take this opportunity, my Lords and Gentlemen, of proposing the health of the Lord Provost, *Sir* William Arbuthnot, *Baronet*, and the Corporation of Edinburgh.' When the King named the Lord Provost by the title he by so doing conferred, the magistrate knelt and kissed the King's hand, which was held out at the moment, and the incident was loudly applauded by the company. The King afterwards gave as a toast, 'Health to the chieftains and clans, and God Almighty bless the Land of Cakes;' and added, 'Drink this with three times three, gentlemen.' It must be admitted, that in uniting dignity with hilarity, in his meetings with his subjects, no monarch ever possessed the art of George IV., and it shows forcibly, that the personal qualifications of the Sovereign are of great importance to the welfare and happiness of the nation.

During his Majesty's residence in Scotland, the tongue of calumny was set agog relative to the attentions which he paid to a certain lady, but which, perhaps, never would have been made the subject of public rumour, if the vanity of the lady had not prompted her to disclose certain things which it was the height of indiscretion in her to mention, and which the malice of the world converted into actual criminality. In charity we will not record the name of this lady; her amiable family have suffered sufficiently, without any exposure on our part to increase the virulence of the wound.

Having fulfilled the purport of his visit—but what that purport was, we are unable to declare—his Majesty left the Scottish capital on the 29th, by a route different from that by which he entered it. On his way to the place of his embarkation he paid a visit to the Earl of Hopetoun, at whose house he conferred the honour of knighthood on Mr. Raeburn, the celebrated portrait painter. At Queensferry, the country people assembled to gratify their curiosity with a last look, and express their loyalty in a parting cheer. The roar of cannon from all the hills, and the louder shouts of the multitude, greeted his embarkation at Port Edgar. A fair wind with foggy weather brought the royal squadron to Greenwich on the 1st of September, and the crowds which had assembled to bid him farewell on his departure, gathered again to testify their joy and

gratitude for his safe return. The same evening the bells of the neighbouring churches announced his Majesty's arrival at Carlton Palace.

From this period may be dated the commencement of the secluded life of the King: he appeared to have satiated his curiosity with foreign and domestic travelling; he flattered himself that by flattering the vanity of others he had increased his own popularity; and he beheld, in the fulsome adulation of a handful of his subjects, an indisputable proof of his virtue, greatness, and patriotism. The last time that the King exhibited himself in public, with the exception of his prorogation of Parliament, was in a visit to the two theatres in 1823; and it was calculated that the number of persons who paid for admission to Covent Garden Theatre on the night of the King's visit, amounted to four thousand two hundred and fifty-five; the receipts being 971*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* It must be admitted that his Majesty on these occasions was received with enthusiasm, and this feeling on the part of the public may in a great measure be ascribed to the unequivocal signs of increased and increasing national prosperity. The ministry were highly popular with Lord Liverpool at their head. Mr. Canning had succeeded Lord Londonderry; Mr. Vansittart (now Lord Bexley) had been removed to the Upper House, to make way for Mr. Robinson (now Lord Goderich) as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Huskisson, one of the most enlightened men of the country in commercial affairs, was appointed President of the Board of Control. Parliament enjoyed the confidence of the nation, although it was opened by commission, a slight indisposition having prevented his Majesty from attending on the occasion. The attention of Parliament in our foreign relations was chiefly directed to the state of France and Spain, between which countries a serious misunderstanding had for some time existed, and a strong apprehension was entertained that a war would ensue between those Powers. The influence of England had been used to effect a reconciliation between the two countries, and to heal the irritation that existed in the two courts. Some allusion was made to this point in the speech delivered at the opening of Parliament; and as the allied Sovereigns had, inconsistently with the right of

nations, interfered in the affairs of Spain—particularly Russia —George IV., faithful to his avowed principles, seceded from the alliance; and by this one act, worthy of the mind of a Canning, this part of the reign of George IV. may be regarded as most honourable to the character of the nation. His Majesty forgot not, in his speech, to touch upon the loyalty of the Scotch, and to express his high approbation of the manner in which he had been received in that part of his dominions. Ireland, that everlasting source of trouble and discord to England, and which will remain so until Catholicism be rooted out of it, and its priests and its Protestant-haters be banished the country, to mumble over their pater-nosters in the gloom of a Jesuit monastery—Ireland, with its distresses and its grievances, became one of the leading topics of the Parliament of 1823. The cause of all these afflictions in Ireland was, according to the Catholics, to be traced to the reluctance of the British Parliament to grant them the great boon of emancipation, the only panacea for all the evils which it endured, and which, if granted, was to exalt Ireland to the envied title of 'the first gem of the sea.' We shall see how far the concession of that boon under one of the most imbecile ministers who ever presumed to guide the helm of the state, did in reality exalt or aggrandize Ireland, or whether the agitators of Ireland, discovering how easy was the task to frighten the ministers of England, did not rise in their presumptuous demands and issue their threats as if they were the governors, not the governed.

England may be compared at this time to a lion asleep; and in defence of the specific line of conduct which it was her policy to pursue, it cannot be described in more eloquent terms than those which were made use of by the enlightened Canning at a dinner at which he presided in the town of Plymouth. 'Our present repose,' he said, 'is no more a proof of inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town (Plymouth) is a proof that they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen,' said the orator, 'how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect

stillness—how soon, upon any call of patriotism or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing instinct with life and motion—how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage—how quickly it would put forth all its swelling beauty and its bravery—collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder! Such is one of those magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its might—such is England herself while apparently passive and motionless: she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion, but,' he concluded, 'God forbid that occasion should arise. After a war sustained for nearly a quarter of a century, sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe ranged at times against her or at her side, England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction.'

It may not be uninteresting, after this delineation of the glorious attitude which England presents to the civilized world, to take a short glance at the political state of the remaining part of Europe, as contrasted with that of England, and which shows the vantage ground on which this country stood, in this, perhaps, the proudest part of the reign of George IV.

Despotism and dulness were closing their wings over many of the finest portions of Europe, which had but a few years before rung with the shouts of freedom, and beamed with the lights of knowledge. The wise heads in France, which once spoke out for liberty, were laid in their graves in wakeless sleep, stretched out in slumbers almost as hopeless—uniting in the adulation of courtiers—joining in the mummeries of superstition—cheating themselves out of the belief of their own and their country's change with pointless epigrams and effectless jeux d'esprit, or, hanging their harps, mute to the sounds of freedom, upon the willow trees in strange lands. The spirit of Germany having fled from castles and camps to colleges, from bearded men to inexperienced boys, was expiring there among the levities of youth. Holland was forgetting her glory as a republic without gaining much as a kingdom. The descendants of the Cæsars were dreading the irruption of a few English ladies, as much as the fathers of their title did the fathers of the Huns. Russia was arranging her military colonies so that she might have an

army ready when there was anything which should afford a pretext for war, and in which force could claim a share. Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, were known still to exist, but their name was all that was known. Spain, after a fluttering pulse or two, which were evidently not those of the heart, was as dull and as comatose as ever. Portugal was doing whatever she could, and exerting all her energies to demonstrate her own insignificance. Italy had her patriots in dungeons, and her peasants converted into robbers; and while the holy pontiff was hurling the thunders of the Vatican against bible societies and ladies, except the unnatural inmates of a cloister, travellers were plundered under the very guns of St. Angelo. Britain, in the midst of this apparently political anarchy, was increasing in wealth, if not in political favour and influence, amongst the continental nations; and her people beheld the singular effects of the love of gain in her Jews and brokers advancing money for the extinction of freedom in some parts of the world, and its establishment in others; they beheld the same persons advancing money to the humbled Spaniard and the emancipated South American, and perchance, too, to the Mahommedan Sultan and the Christian Greek.

With these gloomy prospects in Europe, and these singular coincidences at home, Britain herself saw disturbance in her remote colonies. Plots were formed in many of her West India settlements. The Birmans, one of the boldest and bravest nations in Southern Asia, threatened to avenge upon the plains of Bengal the cause of the Hindû; and those armies of crusade which had gone to carry religious tracts at the bayonet's point to the banks of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Niger, were discomfited and beaten back by the swarthy Ashantees.

Amid all the dense fog and deep gloom of the political horizon, there were only two clear and luminous points, and these were remote, and in directions opposite to each other. Greece in the East, and South America and Mexico in the West, were awake amid the general slumber, and were advancing, while most other nations, as far as politics and political liberty were concerned, were stationary or retrograde.

It was only to these two points that the people of Britain could look with pleasure; and it was only there that the British

statesman could hope to engage in any positive measure which would be either honourable to himself or agreeable to his countrymen. But the new states in America did not now need the aid of the British arms, and to Greece that aid would have been dangerous, and would most certainly have led to a continental war, in which Britain could have gained nothing, and in which Greece might have lost everything. The same power which, without any great attention to what is called the law of nations, had grown, within a little more than a century, from a feeble, unheard of, and barbarian horde upon the banks of the Dwina and Wolga, and the shores of the Polar Sea, to an unprecedented empire, girdling more than half the earth in longitude, and stretching in latitude from the Danube to the icy Capes, would, in the event of a war, have had no difficulty in finding or making a pretext for taking Greece under her imperial protection, and then farewell to all hopes of liberty for the Greek; adieu to the wished-for day whose morning had dawned upon the summits of Athos and Rhodope, and whose coming brightness, it was fondly expected, would kindle anew that valour of the heart, that wisdom of the head, and that skill of the hand, which had in the olden time made Greece the queen and the glory of the nations, and which, after two thousand years of decline and decay, the spoliations of man and the corrosions of time, had left the broken memorials of her greatness and beauty superior to all the productions of modern labour and invention, even when fresh from the tool of the artist.

It might be that a foreign arm could deliver Greece from her present tyrants, but that would only be to prepare her for a tyranny more hopeless, because not so far gone in that progress to decay in which all tyrannies have their termination. What Britain could give to Greece, while fighting for her freedom, was money; and that, perhaps, was better given by individuals as a loan, than by government as a subsidy. What she can give to Greece, once free, is the hand of fellowship, an interchange of liberal sentiments and good offices.

The King of England had, it is true, visited his German dominions, and it is also true that he brought with him on his return some patterns for the English soldiery; but the

time was gone by in this country, when the English people were to regulate their conduct according to German manners; indeed all those German prejudices for which we were once so justly ridiculed, seemed, in the latter years of the reign of George IV., to have died a natural death. The British public cared as little about the mushroom politics of electors and reigning princes, with two square leagues of territory each, as they did about the festival of St. Louis, the religious processions and mummeries of the Catholic church, at which the royal family of France assist, and by which they attempt 'to merit heaven by making earth a hell;' nor did they pay, or could be brought to pay, the slightest regard to the holiday reviews of the Emperor of Austria; with the latter, thank heaven, the British public would have nothing to do. It must, however, be admitted, that Francis has done something to hand down his name to posterity. His monstrous persecutions of the Giustiniani, Gonfalonieri, and others of the most illustrious families of Milan—his abominable and wicked affectation of humanity, in remitting to nobles of a prouder lineage than even the house of Hapsburg itself, an unjust sentence of death for imprisonment, *forte et dure* for life, in a fortress situate in the most wretched and unhealthy part of the dominions—and the studied indignity, of reading this remission to the unfortunate victims of his cruelty, arrayed in all the ignominy which the infamous habiliments of a prison could confer upon their persons on a public scaffold, and by the mouth of the common hangman—these acts, posterity will not fail to execrate, when the folly or weakness of the Emperor might be forgotten, together with the failings of the most contemptible of his subjects. His weakness is destined to be also immortal, in regard to his treatment of British subjects; for the successor of all the Cæsars, the heir of the mighty and the enlightened Charles V., proclaimed to all the world, by an imperial decree, that if certain English ladies of rank and one Danish lady should enter his dominions, they would absolutely be the death of him; but that, should they come accompanied by a certain English nobleman, known in his own country as one of the most benevolent, the most witty, and the most eloquent of its senators, the throne of Austria, and all the legitimate domi-

nations of Europe would tumble down at once at the first word he might utter within the Austrian frontier, like the walls of Jericho at the sound of the trumpet!—We have, however, done with this legitimate ass; nevertheless, like the venomous toad, he has his uses, although he wears no precious jewels *in* his head. But the sketch which we have now given of the Austrian monarch, when held in contrast with that which peculiarly belongs to an English one in his political capacity, will show how justly the pride of an Englishman is founded, when, surrounded with the insignia of his constitution, and resting on the pillars of liberty and freedom, he looks abroad over the enslaved and benighted nations of the world, and beholds the happiness of the human race immolated on the altar of tyranny, despotism, and superstition.

Let us compare, in one particular, the character of George IV. and Francis of Austria. Whilst the latter was trembling with affright at every attempt which was made in his dominions to illuminate the human mind, and to promote the diffusion of useful knowledge—whilst his monks and priests formed a kind of cordon around his territory to prevent the march of reason from overstepping the boundary, the former was presenting to the great national establishment of the country, and for the benefit of his people, the splendid library of his father—an act of munificence and liberality which throws a redeeming shade over many of his venal errors. The Parliament voted 40,000*l.* for the erection of a building at the British Museum, to receive the splendid gift; and there is not an individual connected with the literature of the country, who does not, in this particular, revere the memory of George IV., and place him in the first rank of its illustrious benefactors.

At the opening of the session of 1824, the crisis of distress which had paralysed the energies of the people was supposed to have passed away, and to have left the public affairs in a state of progressive prosperity. The superabundance of capital induced a spirit of speculation; and the most extravagant schemes for internal improvement or foreign advantage found ready support. No scheme, however preposterous, but found a sufficient number of dupes to support it,—whether it were to dive to the bottom of the ocean in quest of shipwrecked

treasures, or the erection of a bridge from Gibraltar to the coast of Africa. The greatest gainers in these visionary schemes were the attornies; and it has been computed that a sum little short of half a million passed into the hands of these rapacious human sharks. The rage for this sort of covert gambling became universal, and led to consequences of the most serious nature. A system of reaction ensued which shook the most solvent establishments. Bankruptcy after bankruptcy was announced, where positive capital was supposed to abound superior to any possible demand which the exigency of the case might require—a panic, unparalleled in the commercial world, pervaded every department—confidence was wholly annihilated—and the leading question throughout the whole trading community was, not how much business could be done, but how little. Nevertheless, this storm, as in the physical world, was not without its uses; it purified the whole of the commercial system, by the extinction of a paper capital, which was corroding the vitals of genuine trade, and forcing it into channels, which, surcharged as they were with the most heterogeneous materials, ultimately led to an explosion which threatened to overthrow the whole commercial prosperity of the country.

Enshrined, however, within the precincts of his cottage, the King appeared to take little or no interest in the public or political affairs of the nation. The people heard of him taking his rides, attended with his usual cortege, and his favourite outrider Hudson, casting his eyes into every brake or thicket, to ascertain if some prying, inquisitive intruder, some 'peeping Tom,' had not there concealed himself to catch a glimpse of the sacred person of royalty. The extent to which this kind of espionage was carried by the express command of an English King, would lead us to believe that, like some Dionysius or Nero of old, he expected to see an assassin in every bush, or some seventh bullet, winged with death, shot from some deep recess in revenge for his misdoings. The green rides of Windsor park, when it was known that the King was out, were completely forbidden ground; the park-keepers were abroad in all directions, invested with the royal mandate, to let no human being be seen within the range of the vision of

royalty*. The Sandpit-gate Lodge, which forms the subject of one of our engravings, was one of the favourite halting places of his Majesty, and where, seated in his pony-chaise with his favourite cockatoo on his arm, he enjoyed his glass of cherry-gin, which was always kept in preparation for him. It was at this place that the King kept his menagery, from which all beasts of a ferocious kind were excluded, and to which access was most readily and politely allowed, excepting on certain days in the week, when all visitors were prohibited, on account of the expected presence of the King. It was on one of those days, when the King was actually in one of the parks of the menagery, admiring his interesting group of kangaroos, that a lady presented herself at the gate, requesting permission to inspect the collection of birds, of which, particularly the peacocks, they were the most beautiful specimens of the kind in the kingdom. The lady was refused admittance on the ground that the King himself was then in the menagery, and of course his commands could not be disobeyed. The lady requested as a favour that his Majesty might be informed of her anxious wish to inspect the menagery, conceiving, from his proverbial politeness and attention to the female sex, that he would not hesitate to accede to her request. The message was conveyed to his Majesty, who put several questions as to the supposed rank and condition of the curious lady, to all of which no decisive answer could be given—and the King gave some directions respecting the improvements which were then in agitation in various parts of the menagery—at last turning round to the attendant who had brought him the message from the lady, he asked,—Is the lady beautiful? Extremely beautiful, was the answer—it was decisive. His love of female beauty got the better of his

* During the time that the artist and the author of this work were employed in taking the sketch of the Sandpit-gate Lodge, we were rudely accosted by one of the park-keepers, of the name of Portsmouth, warning us off the ground, as *his Majesty* had issued his positive commands that no person should be allowed to take a drawing of any of the objects in the park, especially if situated contiguous to the green rides. I presumed to question this blustering Nimrod of office, whether, as the King then lay dead in Windsor Castle, the command was not dead also. He, however, declared that he considered the command to be in full life and force, and that the green rides were not to be profaned by our unhallowed feet. We pretended obedience, and directed our steps towards the forest. In a short time we observed the *Man of Green* on his pampered steed, directing his route towards Windsor, and we finished our sketch, despite of Royal indignation or Portsmouth insolence.

Melville delin et scul.

pride and dignity, and he issued his commands for the immediate admission of the fair visitant. His Majesty was in the house inspecting his Giraffe when the lady made her appearance at one of the outer gates, but the King no sooner caught a glimpse of her person, than he ordered her to be detained until he had taken his departure, and he hurried to his pony-chaise, and drove towards the castle. This lady had been long one of his most acknowledged favourites; but she is now the wife of a most deserving and amiable officer, and for that reason we will not wound his feelings by the mention of her name.

With the year 1823-4, the King discontinued his visits to Brighton, and took up his residence at the cottage in Windsor park. In the former year, he held his first court at Windsor castle, and 300,000*l.* was voted by Parliament for the repairs and embellishments of that splendid edifice. His retirement from Brighton has been attributed to various causes; but the most authentic is a deep resentment which he felt at some personal affront which was given to the Lady Steward, by some of the inhabitants of the town, and which he considered as almost given to himself. In fact the extraordinary ascendency which that lady had obtained over the royal mind, was now so apparent in all his actions, that he may literally be said to be a King governed by one subject, and that subject more influential and powerful in her authority, than the first minister of the state.

The royal amusements of the cottage partook of all the elegant refinements which distinguished the latter part of the King's life. Virginia Water, with its picturesque scenery of forest, lake, cascade, and landscape-garden, was one of the King's most favourite retreats. Here, under his own superintendence, he caused a fishing-temple to be erected, and another in the Chinese taste, which now stand, in their desolate beauty, the monuments of his eccentric taste and his expensive habits. With the substantial glory of Windsor Castle, towering in the distance, and the poetical associations of the forest in the vicinity, some surprise may be expressed at the inharmonious introduction of these fantastical buildings, amidst the natural luxuriance of the spot. Aquatic excursions were his Majesty's

favourite amusement in the summer months; and his superb yacht, freighted with royalty and noble and ignoble beauty, upon, with one exception, the finest artificial water in the kingdom, must indeed have been a voluptuous scene. Temporary pavilions, marquees, &c., were, on such occasions, put up with magic celerity; whilst music, with its silver sounds, floated on the surface of the lake, or sighed with the breeze through the surrounding foliage, the royal band being a constant accompaniment in the lake excursion. Such a species of splendid seclusion might well win the sovereign from the cares of state and political perplexities; but still there was something in that seclusion so decidedly anti-national, so openly at variance with what the English people have a right to expect from their sovereign, that their murmurs began to be expressed in no very measured language, and which, had not his feelings been well cauterized by an habitual contempt of public opinion, would have often interrupted his voluptuous moments by a solemn warning as to the consequences which have often befallen royalty, from a neglect of its political and national duties.

To the contemplative observer, the view of Virginia Water is an object of the most serious reflection, and of reminiscences which carry him back to the days of its glory and its pride, when all that art could accomplish was lavishly expended to render it a fairy scene, such as some great magician would raise by his potent wand, to give to mortals a foretaste of a heavenly paradise: and now to view it—hushed are the sounds which floated around it in silvery sweetness, filling the heart and soul with those extatic feelings which bring humanity into closer connexion with the Deity:—desolate are the halls which once rang with revelry, and where the eye of female beauty shot its glances around in all their bewitching pride, in all the mastery of their resistless power—where the silken flag of royalty once waved over the stillness of the waters, now glides the lonely water-fowl, fearless of intrusion, or the annoyance of man. The contemplatist may now sit, where loyalty once sat in its exclusive dignity, and which, in a few years, was to be spoken of as some passing wonder, and to be forgotten to make room for the deeds and actions of his successor. The plans and edifices of monarchs crumble into dust, and posterity

Melville delt et sculp

VIRGINIA WATER.

London Published by Thomas Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, 1830

can scarcely point out the site where they stood—a few more years and the fantastic erections of Virginia Water will be razed to the ground, and the pencil of the artist alone will tell that ever they existed. Kings are great in their authority—but that authority is bestowed upon them by some freak of Nature, who when she made them kings, gave them what belongs to kings, by virtue of their legitimacy; but the deeds of kings are on the records of history, and by them will they be applauded of reprobated by posterity.

We cannot be accused of being the panegyrists of royalty; but in the spirit of impartiality we must admit that ever and anon some action springs forth, which throws a redeeming shade over many previous errors, and, perhaps, there is no one which imparts a greater lustre to the character of George IV. as the patron of genius, than his munificent gift towards the erection of a monument to the memory of James Watt. The incident may appear at the first view as trifling in itself; but a meeting called for the purpose of the erection of a monument to a great benefactor of the human race, is worthy of the most civilized nations. Such meetings should be held forth as examples to other countries, to awaken amongst those who approach nearest to civilization a generous emulation of true glory and just gratitude. Such meetings impart a new value to the discoveries and the productions of genius; they excite youthful talents to redouble their efforts in order to produce works that may be useful to their country, and worthy, in their turn, of immortality.

It was on Friday the 18th of June, 1824, that a public meeting was held, at which the Earl of Liverpool presided, supported by such men as Brougham, Mackintosh, and Wilberforce, for the purpose of entering into a subscription to defray the expenses of the erection of a monument to the memory of the father of the steam-engine. The first words uttered by the prime minister of the British empire, surrounded by the most distinguished personages of the government and the country, either by their learning or their eloquence, were to announce that the meeting was called for the purpose of offering a public tribute of gratitude and respect to the memory of the best and most extraordinary man to whom the country

had ever given birth. We confess that such an eulogium is rather exaggerated, especially in a country that has produced a Newton, for we can speak from personal experience that, in society, James Watt was a most repellent character, and appeared to treat every man with contempt and indifference who could not converse on pistons, cylinders, and boilers. In other respects, the speech of Lord Liverpool was such as might have been expected from so great and enlightened a mind; and he concluded his speech by observing, that his Majesty George IV. had charged him to inform the meeting, that his Majesty was deeply sensible of the services that had been rendered to Great Britain by him, 'to whose memory we are about, as I informed you at first, to offer the tribute of our respect and gratitude. His Majesty is anxiously desirous of having his name placed at the head of the proposed subscription for the sum of five hundred pounds.'

Let the parasites of the king look at *this* picture, and then at *that* which, in the plenitude of their folly and their ignorance, they have attempted to draw of him. The sovereign of a country, which reckons at present more than 100,000,000 of subjects, confers an additional grandeur upon his empire by making amends for a long forgetfulness, and with a true dignity of mind, conferring such honour on the productive labours of one of the modest children of industry. This example is worthy to serve as a model to the honours that the sovereigns of other nations may, perhaps, hereafter offer to the memory of those of their subjects, who have enjoyed no other social distinctions than the benefits they have conferred by their genius upon society.

But after all, England as a country is a paradox; noble and great in some things — mean and insignificant in others: where, after all, is the monument of Watt? The ashes of Garrick the actor, who conferred no lasting benefit upon his country, are deposited within the sacred walls of Westminster; while the ashes of Watt, the great benefactor of his race, are committed to an obscure corner of some unknown churchyard.

It must be admitted that his Majesty's subscription to the erection of a monument to Watt is not the only instance on

record of his munificence to the sons of genius; for, to the charitable institutions and societies established for the relief of the distressed part of the community, he was a constant and liberal patron. The establishment of the Literary Fund for the purpose of affording assistance to the indigent *literati*, may, in some measure, be traced to the high patronage which his Majesty always afforded it; nor was he ever tardy in dispensing his benevolence to deserving individuals who, by their genius or their virtues, were deserving of his gracious favours. To the promotion of the arts and sciences he was a zealous and steady friend; although, at the same time, this eulogium must in some measure be qualified, as his attention was principally directed to those branches of the arts which come rather under the denomination of the ornamental than the useful. It was those objects which please the eye that appeared to engross his preference; and the gaudy and showy were encouraged, whilst the substantial and the simple were rejected. His mind, in matters of this kind, was most singularly constituted; he could amuse himself like a child with a toy, and on a sudden a conception appeared to spring in it, of a stupendous and gigantic nature, characteristic of the existence of the most aspiring genius, and the highest degree of cultivated intellect: an infant one moment, a giant the next. To a superficial observer, he appeared a character fitted to excite the interest of all who approached him, and the philosopher, in the deeper study of his properties and faculties, would have placed him in the rank of those extraordinary men who have rendered themselves conspicuous by the eccentricity of their actions.

The country, at the commencement of the year 1825, presented a high degree of internal prosperity. The Parliament was opened by commission on the 3rd of February, and two important points of the speech became the immediate subjects of discussion—these were the recognition of the South American States separated from Spain, and the affairs of Ireland. An association had been formed for the avowed purposes of agitation and self-defence by influential Catholics, to oppose themselves to those combinations of power and wealth known by the name of Orange Lodges. The ministry, with strict im-

partiality, brought in a bill to put down all associations, and to render meetings for political purposes, under certain modifications, illegal. The authority of parliament was instantly obeyed by the Catholic association, and it expired; but the new law was succeeded by a new association, modelled expressly to meet its provisions; and thus qualified, the Catholics continued to assemble, and the association by its influence, and by the sums it levied, became a powerful engine, either for good or mischief, accordingly as it was directed. A bill for the settlement of the question passed through the earlier stages in the House of Commons; but the unqualified declaration of the Duke of York, as heir-presumptive, in the House of Lords, his conviction of its illegality, and his determined opposition, in a conscientious point of view, produced such a sensation, that the bill was lost.

His Majesty's speech, at the prorogation of Parliament in July, alluded to the efforts made to extend commerce, and to relieve the colonies, and repeated congratulations on the continued prosperity of the country. It was, however, an idle and deceitful prosperity; for very soon after the close of the session, the eyes of the public were opened to the system of fallacious speculation which had been indulged in. Important commercial failures led to distress and difficulty in the money market; seventy-three banking houses stopped payment in the course of a few months; and so terrible was the shock which public credit had received, that all confidence was lost, and the ruin spread itself into a thousand unsuspected channels. The year that had begun in prosperity, ended in unprecedented misery and distress. Nor did the succeeding year open with more flattering prospects. The evil was stated to be beyond remedy; but Parliament was invited to apply corrections, and to protect public and private interest from the recurrence of such violent and agitating fluctuations. The immediate return to a metallic currency, and a complete alteration of the banking system, were the measures which chiefly occupied the attention of Parliament. The Church in Ireland, and the state of the Colonies, were the last objects of inquiry. The Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 31st of May, and dissolved by proclamation on the 2nd of June. New writs

being issued, the country was involved in all the bustle of a general election. As a mean of partial good and general evil, this event passed off as usual. All the worst and malignant passions of men were excited, and their worst propensities encouraged. In some places the excitement burst out into acts of flagrant violence—at others a system of covert influence was detected and exposed—ingratitude and treachery on one side, and suppleness and self abasement on the other—a universal neglect of the usual course of duties, and a feverish agitation of the public mind, were the characteristics of this, as of every other general election. It had few distinctive marks—the Slave Trade, Catholic Emancipation, and the Corn Laws were the last questions generally adopted: these subjects formed a narrow ridge of uncertain footing, with a terrific gulf on each side, a fall into either being absolute perdition; and the skilful, dexterous, expert casuist, who could maintain his position between an honest avowal of his sentiments on either side, stood the best chance of his election. George IV., not William IV., was then upon the throne; the former, so that he could decorate his palaces, adorn his apartments, lavish his thousands upon baubles, *angle* for roach and dace in Virginia Water by the side of his *angelic* marchioness, cared little or nothing for the corruption of his Parliament, nor the manner in which the resources of the country were lavished away. Immured within his apartments at Windsor Castle, the English people knew nothing of their sovereign, with the exception that he was still in existence, and that the functions of the executive were performed in the usual order and regularity. The 'Court Circular,' that vehicle of mawkish insipidity, informed the British public, *with its usual accuracy*, of the exact time when the King sallied forth from St. George's gate at Windsor to recreate his royal person on the green drives of Windsor Park, and the fairy scenery of Virginia Water.

It is the duty of the biographer to state his general opinion of the character which comes under his immediate review; but it must be confessed that in regard to the character of George IV., there is scarcely a possibility of forming a candid estimate of it, till years have mellowed down its asperities, and softened its harsher shades. Such a variety of contending interests, such

a number of opposing lights, make a contemporary reflection like that from a warped mirror, varying with the station of the beholder. Another great difficulty arises from the obscurity in which the King passed so many years of his life. What was the motive for this retirement? In youth perhaps he was too prodigal of his presence. Wherever there was gaiety, wherever 'sport leaped up to seize her beechen spear,' wherever there was a festive assembly of the people, there also was the Prince. His love of society was a principle of his being; his taste for display was innate. In after life he sought the public applause of his people in the capitals of his several kingdoms, and gained it at the expense of much personal fatigue and even danger. Yet the latter years of his life were spent in seclusion. His natural dignity, his personal pride, were in some measure the cause why he did not wish his subjects to behold the ravages that time had made on his fine features. He wished to avoid the glance of curiosity, directed at those arts by which a youthful appearance was attempted to be preserved, after the reality of age had come on. He had found out the hollowness of popular applause; he had discovered the fragile nature of that thread which in a free state binds a monarch to the unthinking multitude.

There is much of the character of the Roman people in the English nation; they are unbounded in their gratitude, lavish in their rewards, profuse in their honours to their benefactors, but their favour is often bought before a claim has been established. The idol of the day may be the object of trifling curiosity or temporary interest; while the philosopher, the statesman, the warrior, or the divine, who has deserved the distinction thus offered to the creature of the moment is allowed to pass unnoticed. Nay, it is well if the most exalted services will entitle him who has performed them, to pass his life in peace. The popular voice does not now banish the patriot on the suspicion of the moment, or the charge of the demagogue. But talent and virtue are branded with the most opprobrious titles, and held up to scorn and infamy. If the leaders of the rabble, 'the tritons of the minnows,' misunderstand their motives, or disapprove their actions, great services are speedily forgotten. The hissings,

shoutings, groans, and missiles which occasionally assailed the King, while in the discharge of his public duty, taught him to estimate correctly the hollowness of those tokens of popular approbation which attended him on occasions, which he must have known deserved them less than those which had been visited by the popular indignation. He was a dutiful and affectionate son to his mother; but between his father and himself existed a mutual jealousy, which was often heated to distrust and dislike. His friends were chosen for their accomplishments and banished for their opinions. His family he regarded with pride, and had a very strong sense of the honour of their name, and the dignity of their station. An insult to his family he declared himself incapable of forgiving; yet with one brother he had long since ceased to live on terms of fraternal amity, and postponed the re-union to the precarious chance of a death-bed reconciliation. His passions were strong; their victims not a few—his attachments were lightly made and lightly relinquished: caprice and novelty often directed the disposal of the imperial handkerchief. To one attachment he was steady: his idea of pleasure was sensual, notwithstanding the refinement of his mind. Into one great engagement he entered from the most unworthy motives, and discharged himself from the performance of its duties in the most abandoned manner. No conduct on the part of the Princess of Wales could justify the indiscreet selection of her for a partner, nor the behaviour adopted towards her afterwards. The most fatal consequences to the whole nation, in its morality, in the tenderest points of domestic happiness have been the result of that depraved contempt of the most solemn of the religious ceremonies, the most important of civil engagements. To both sides the strongest blame is imputable, but to the subject of the present memoir, as a man and a prince, the greatest portion of the censure is due. The King was totally unacquainted with the value of money, and shamefully careless of the interests of those from whom he withheld it. His lavish expenditure continued to his last hour, nor did he, as is generally the case, gather wisdom from experience. His tastes were magnificent, and their gratification costly to the kingdom. Had he lived at a period when the national wealth had a real existence, and

was something more than the shadow of an enormous debt, his grandeur and his expensive habits would have been a blessing to the nation; but in the state in which he found the country, every shilling should have been husbanded, and whatever may be allowed for national honour and royal magnificence, honesty and the discharge of engagements are as incumbent on the mighty as the mean. In his personal habits George IV. was the very reverse of his father. He indulged in the luxuries of the table, was fond of wine, and had a strong taste for animal enjoyment. His robust constitution was not strengthened, his corpulent habit was not subdued by exercise. Walking was actual fatigue; everything around him breathed of luxury. He was condescending and affable to his servants, but he maintained the keenest sense of personal dignity; no liberty could be taken with impunity. If the lion played with the dog, the dog was not permitted to forget that his playmate was the lion. A well-informed contemporary truly remarks, that the King was particular, almost to fastidiousness, about the manners of those who surrounded his person. He who forgot for a moment that his patient was a King, or presumed to carry the familiarity of private life within the precincts of the palace, was sure to lose the royal favour. This was spoken of his Majesty's physicians, but might be applied with equal truth to every one who approached the person of the King. Indolence was another striking point of the King's character at an advanced period of life; indeed, at no time of it was he ever fond of personal exertion. These may be called the errors and blemishes of his character, and perhaps with all the frailty of humanity, these are as few in number as generally fall to the lot of human beings, especially where unlimited means of indulgence inflame the passions, and increase of appetite may be allowed to grow with what it feeds on.

On the 21st of November, 1826, the King went in state to open the new Parliament, which had been assembled by proclamation on the 14th, and so long a space had elapsed since the appearance of his Majesty in public, and so little was known of the private life of the King in his retirement, that the most intense curiosity existed to behold him in his progress to the House of

Lords on this occasion. The coronation robes once more adorned the person of royalty, and with a black hat and white feathers, the appearance of the sovereign commanded respect and admiration. Still on the part of the people there was wanting that ebullition of joy and delight on beholding their Sovereign amongst them, which is generally testified when a patriot King is in the performance of a great national duty.

In his speech the King explained the reason of their early summons; the necessity of their sanction to an order in council for the opening of the ports. It announced the happy termination of the war in India, peace with the world, and endeavours to preserve it. A diminution in the revenue, and the distresses of the people, were allowed and regretted, and hopes confidently expressed of an early and permanent relief to the difficulties under which the people had so long and so patiently suffered.

The year 1827 opened under auspices more favourable than the preceding. The storm had passed away, but the sunshine had not succeeded: this was the pause that follows the exhaustion of the elements. The political horizon was clouded towards the north and east of Europe, and in Greece a concussion was approaching. To the subject of these memoirs, however, this was a period of peculiar affliction. The Duke of York had long struggled under a most painful disorder, and his death, which had been anticipated for a considerable time, took place on the 5th of January, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The agony of his illness had been endured with resignation, and to the last he continued to discharge the important duties of his high office. When the painful nature of his malady is considered, and the known danger that attended it, no slight degree of praise is due to that strength of mind, which could, under such circumstances, enter into the minute details of the armament so hastily fitted out for Portugal; and even in the last week of his life he took the advantage of a visit from his Majesty to obtain the royal consent to a plan for the promotion of the old subalterns of the army. The consolations of religion, and the attentions of his family, smoothed his passage to the grave; and though he struggled with disease and pain, he bore their attacks with patience, and yielded with fortitude to the great adversary. The affliction of his Majesty at the

loss of his best friend, his most beloved brother, and almost constant companion and confidant, may be much easier conceived than described.

With the character of the Duke of York the British people are well acquainted, and perhaps, with the exception of the Duke of Cumberland, there is no member of the royal family, whose actions have been brought more often before the attention of the public than those of the late Duke of York. As the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, he is, however, justly entitled to the commendation of the nation. In his attention to the duties of that station, his conduct was most exemplary, and his orders for the regulation of the army have been greatly conducive to the strength of the nation, and the comfort of the soldier. He was personally known to most of the officers, and was particularly easy of access. When a favour could be conferred, it was given with grace and frankness; and where a refusal was inevitable, it was softened with gentleness and encouragement.

His attachment to the ruinous vice of gambling involved him in difficulties, which frequently exposed him to the most degrading situations, and which could not fail to diminish the respect and esteem which the English people are always disposed to pay to the branches of the royal family. He was far from provident, and was even prodigal in his pleasures; but he was not in any part of his conduct ungenerous or deliberately base. If in some instances he fell into temptations, it is only wonderful that he did not more frequently yield to the besiegers of rank and station. His manners were gentle, affable, and plain. As a soldier, headlong daring, more than military skill, distinguished him. The army owes to him its perfect regeneration; and on his death-bed, when Mr. Peel announced to him the landing of the troops in Portugal, he raised himself with conscious pride, and in a faint but triumphant tone of voice, exclaimed, 'I wish that the country could compare the state of the brigade which was landed at Lisbon in 1827, with the state of the brigade which landed at Ostend in 1794.' He seldom interfered in politics, but never shrunk from avowing his sentiments. However mistaken might have been his views, there is no question that his avowal of them was sincere and honest.

We must briefly touch upon one point, and that is, the disgrace which still attaches to the character of the late Duke of York, in regard to the heavy debts which he had contracted; not one farthing of which has yet been paid, to the total ruin of many an industrious tradesman; nor, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, is it probable that even the smallest dividend will be ever forthcoming. When we come to consider the enormous wealth with which the 'Lady Steward' retired from her royal habitation, and the extent of the bequests which followed the demise of the Sovereign, we cannot but consider it a serious imputation upon the character of his late Majesty, that before he lavished his hundreds of thousands upon his marchioness, he did not, in conjunction with the other branches of the royal family, come conscientiously forward, and by the payment of the debts of their deceased brother, remove that deep stigma upon royalty, which the conduct of that illustrious individual has brought upon it. One quarter of the treasure thrown into the lap of the marchioness, would have satisfied the immediate exigencies of the more pressing creditors of the royal Duke; one-eighth part of the sums expended in baubles and glittering gewgaws would have wholly satisfied the remaining part of the creditors, and the people of England, in this instance of honourable conduct, would have seen in the royal family a fresh cause for the expression of their loyalty and attachment to their persons. But the opportunity was suffered to go by; the ears of the people were still insulted by the reports of the reckless extravagance of the King in the decoration of his palaces, and the purchase of the most costly articles, on which the royal eye delighted itself for the day, after which they were removed to make way for others of greater beauty and rarity.

From motives of charity and forbearance we will not touch upon *one* trait in the character of the Duke of York,—it sprang from an appetite of great degeneracy, and wholly derogatory to the character of the man and the Christian.

The succession of the Duke of Clarence to the situation of heir-presumptive to the crown, rendered some changes necessary in the legislative allowance to his Royal Highness. Three thousand pounds were granted to the Duke, and six

thousand pounds to the Duchess, in addition to the existing income of twenty-six thousand pounds, and three thousand pounds to which the Duke had succeeded by benefit of survivorship on the death of the Duke of York. This measure was not carried without a strong debate and frequent divisions, for it was contended that the starving state of the manufacturers rendered it the height of injustice to vote away a single shilling of the public money without the strongest necessity, which could not, in the present case, be held to exist.

A new interest was excited at the time by the sudden illness of Lord Liverpool, who was attacked by a paralytic stroke soon after the opening of Parliament; and it was discovered, that although the life of that eminent statesman did not yield to the attack, yet, as a minister, his services were lost to the country for ever.

The illness of Lord Liverpool placed the cabinet in a state of very great difficulty, and embarrassed the King. Differences of opinion on important subjects had long existed in the council chamber. In some of these divisions Lord Liverpool had stood alone; and if a fit successor could have been found, whose way of thinking was more in unison with the general feeling, unanimity might have ensued. But there remained one question on which the members of the cabinet could not agree, independently of those which the absence of Lord Liverpool had reconciled. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, and Mr. Peel, were opposed to, and the other constituents of the council were in favour of, the Catholic claims. Thus divided against itself the cabinet could not exist; a mutual jealousy of each other's superiority strengthened the principle of division. The King in this dilemma consulted Mr. Canning, and his Majesty was advised to form a cabinet unanimous on the great question, and if hostile to it, he offered to retire from office to forward the plan he had suggested. But his talents and popularity were not to be dispensed with, and who dared to incur the odium of sacrificing every other qualification to this one test? Again, Mr. Canning resolved never to form part of a ministry constructed on the old principle of agreement to differ, and of removing the

Catholic claims from the list of cabinet questions, if an anti-Catholic peer should become its head. The country was long held in suspense; the King continued to be surrounded by difficulties; negotiations and intrigues were carried on between the members of the cabinet and the great parties in the legislative assemblies. Every delicate respect was paid to the private feelings of Lord Liverpool, and he was happily conscious of the kindness.

On the 6th of April the King came from Windsor to London for the express purpose of making the necessary arrangements, and it was finally settled that Mr. Canning should succeed Lord Liverpool, and, with a slight addition of a successor to Mr. Canning, the ministry were to remain as before. Although Mr. Canning had in his time committed himself by the support of various measures calculated to injure the people, hopes were entertained of a change of policy both abroad and at home, which, if it could not save the country, held out the prospect of ameliorating the condition of the people. At all events, the first steps of his administration were decidedly English, and the nation felt itself almost instantly relieved from the incubus of foreign domination, which fettered, with the King's sanction, the energies of a free and independent government.

On the appointment of Mr. Canning, Lord Eldon, Earl Bathurst, the Earl of Westmorland, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Bexley, and Mr. Peel, immediately gave in their resignations. They were presented to the King by Mr. Canning, and instead of producing the intended effect, his Majesty gave his hand to kiss, and Mr. Canning was prime minister. Lord Melville, Mr. Wallace, Sir Charles Wetherell, Sir J. Becket, the Duke of Dorset, Duke of Montrose, the Marquess of Graham, and the Marquess of Londonderry, resigned their various situations in the admiralty, the mint, the crown law offices, and the household, so general appeared the ill feeling towards the advancement of Mr. Canning. The recess allowed time for the new minister to make his necessary arrangements; and at the meeting of Parliament in May, the cabinet was entirely re-modelled, but less unanimous than that which it succeeded. Mutual sacrifices were made, and a coalition between the op-

position and the moderate of the ministerial party was effected, so that the members of the late cabinet and those who thought with them, were now in fact the opposition; but a greater degree of unanimity existed than had ever been known to exist in a British Parliament, and the new ministry became exceedingly popular. The Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 2d of July. Four months Mr. Canning directed the helm of the state, when death deprived the country of his truly splendid talents. An event so sudden and unexpected excited the most lively sensation of regret. His rise had been envied, his course had been clouded, but his talents and his character could not fail to make his death considered as a national calamity, and it was generally and deeply deplored. A lingering disease, the consequence of exertion and uneasiness of mind, ended in inflammation, and determined a rapid death at Chiswick, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, on the 8th of August. On the 16th his remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey. The offers of numerous public bodies and private individuals to attend the funeral were respectfully declined, and the colleagues of the late minister, his private friends and relations, were all who accompanied his body to the grave. Nothing, however, could prevent the demonstrations of public respect: numerous parties of the mere spectators were in deep mourning, and on the face of the assembled multitude one expression of sorrow and respectful interest was paid. The tribute of tears was paid by those whose dignity seldom condescends to express sorrow in a way so seemly.

The following slight sketch of this celebrated man may not be deemed here as misplaced, considering him as one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of genius which irradiated the reign of George IV.

George Canning, the son of a gentleman of the same name, of an ancient family in Warwickshire, one branch of which settled at Garvagh, in the county of Londonderry, in Ireland, was born April 11, 1770, exactly one year before the death of his father, who had offended his family by his marriage with a young lady of inferior station, but whose talents enabled her, after the death of her husband, to struggle for his children. Unsuccessful in her first pursuit, the tuition of

youth, she turned her attention to the stage, and became an actress of considerable eminence in several respectable provincial theatres. She was afterwards twice married, still continued on the stage, and the first pension to which the son was entitled, was by filial duty settled on his mother. The education of George Canning was superintended by his uncle, a wine merchant in London, and its expenses defrayed by the produce of a small estate in Ireland, to which he had succeeded. Mr. Richards, of Hyde Abbey School near Winchester, was his first preceptor; he then removed to Eton, and in 1777 matriculated at Oxford as a scholar of Christ Church. After taking a degree at the university, he entered of the society of Lincoln's Inn, and made his first appearance in Parliament in 1793. During all these periods he distinguished himself in every situation to which he was called, and particularly at Eton, where, with three associates, he edited and published a periodical work of no slight merit. At Oxford, Mr. Canning formed a friendship with Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool, of the greatest importance to his future prospects. Pitt sought his society, and his vacations were spent with Sheridan, who was related to his mother. Burke predicted his future fame; and an introduction to the Duchess of Devonshire brought him into contact with all the wits of the day. The advice of Sheridan diverted him from the law, and turned his regard to the senate: but he was not guided in his political conduct by the genius of his friend; he chose for himself, and enlisted himself under the banners of Pitt. Through the influence of that member he was elected for Newport. He was Secretary of State in 1796, spoke seldom, and gradually matured his eloquence. He was studious, took another degree at Oxford, and industrious, for he projected, and greatly contributed to the Anti-jacobin. In this work appeared that celebrated burlesque upon the German drama, entitled 'The Rovers,' and which may be said to have been the precursor of the downfall of German literature in this country. Nor should that matchless parody pass unmentioned, entitled the 'Loves of the Triangles,' written in ridicule of Darwin's Loves of the Plants, and which we can personally affirm excited so high a degree of resentment in the breast of the learned doctor, that

he never afterwards mentioned the name of Canning without attaching to it an opprobrious epithet.

He was appointed a Commissioner for the Affairs of India in 1799, and married, the following year, a lady whose fortune exceeded one hundred thousand pounds. In opposition to Mr. Addington, he was active and energetic both as a writer and a speaker, and at this time applied to Pitt the happy application of 'the pilot that weathered the storm.' He became Treasurer of the Navy in 1804, and warmly attempted to defend Lord Melville against the charges of Mr. Whitbread. 'In the grave of Mr. Pitt (to use his own language) he buried his political allegiance;' and in opposition to his successors, he was again full of acute irony and indignant eloquence. He applied to them the lasting epithet of 'all the talents.' Under the Duke of Portland he returned to office as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. That *necessary incident* in the life of a British statesman—a duel, occurred to Mr. Canning in 1809, when he accepted the challenge of Lord Castlereagh, and received his adversary's ball in his thigh. The regent authorised Lord Liverpool to apply to Mr. Canning on the death of Mr. Perceval; and another attempt to bring him into office under the Marquess of Wellesley was made on the part of a prince who knew how to value his talents; but on both occasions the stumbling-block of the Catholic question stood in his way, and kept him out of office. He was four times returned for Liverpool against very powerful opponents, and every time with an increased majority. He went to Portugal as ambassador in 1814, and afterwards to the south of France, without official character, for the health of his family, and in 1816 returned to England to become President of the Board of Control, which he resigned to avoid participation in the process against the Queen, during which he remained abroad. He was afterwards nominated Governor-general of India; but the illness of the Marquess of Londonderry detained him in England, and the sequel has been just related. Of his personal appearance it may be remarked that he was handsome, tall, well-made, more active than strong; his countenance, beaming with intellect, was expressive of firmness, but good-nature and mildness appeared to predominate; his fore-

head was large and capacious, his head nearly bald, his eye lively and thoughtful, and his whole appearance indicative of genius. His eloquence was of a high order, elaborate and correct. It was classically elegant, but purely English; not superabundant, nor ever mean nor thin. He was the first living orator of the day. His talents were very varied. Of his political character it is not necessary to speak. He was affable in society, affectionate in his social relations, just and upright in his morals. The theatre of his exertions was the world, and the cabinet of his friends included all the excellence and genius of his day.

The death of Mr. Canning did not dissolve the cabinet. Lord Goderich succeeded the late premier; Mr. Herries became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and some other changes were made. But even if Mr. Canning had not prematurely died, it was impossible for him long to have retained the power to which he had succeeded, opposed as he was to the aristocracy, and pledged to a system so opposite to that which had hitherto been acted upon by the King. While, therefore, the people deplored his death, the court soon testified its satisfaction by placing a man in his room, committed to the extreme measures of a military faction. Everything accordingly underwent a speedy change; and the cabinet, filled almost exclusively with military men, coerced a system of policy between military severity and the discipline of Ignatius Loyola. One cabinet, and that was the English one, might be said to rule the whole of Europe. In France the charter was to be expunged. Polignac became the tool of Wellington, and Charles X. was obliged to take refuge in the ancient palace of the Scottish kings, to save himself from the indignation of his infuriated subjects. In Spain the power of Ferdinand, the petticoat embroiderer, was supported, and the usurpation of Miguel in Portugal invested with the attributes of legitimacy. In the last speech which the Duke of Wellington put into the mouth of his abused sovereign, the right of this royal legitimate monster to the throne of Portugal was to be recognized by the English government, in contravention of all the other treaties which had been entered into with the House of Braganza, and in open opposition to the faith pledged by this country to the court of

Rio Janeiro. If the downfall of the Wellington administration had been accompanied with no other blessing to the nation than the postponement of this recognition, the country would hail it as a glorious event, and consider it as tantamount to the salvation of its honor. Every attempt to free Italy from the subjugation of Austria was suppressed; the aggression of Russia against the Turks was upheld, and, in conjunction with the French and Russian fleets, England struck a deadly blow at the maritime power of one of its most ancient allies, and who have always interposed their arms to arrest the aggressions of the Russian autocrat. The sacrifice of our honor abroad strengthened the coalition against liberty at home; and the King and his ministers reckoned on consolidating, without interruption from foreign wars, that war which they were carrying on within the country for the extension of the prerogative, the enforcement of the taxes, under an arbitrary and oppressive system of legal prosecution, at the mere will of a haughty and supercilious attorney, grown opulent from the distresses of the people, and finally for the purpose of establishing in this country the duration of arbitrary power. The people who had complained of an inefficient police were conciliated by a more rigorous one, of apparently civil jurisdiction, but of the most direct military organization; and one of the last acts of the reign of George IV., though of apparent benignity and justice, the emancipation of the Catholics, was accompanied by a deadly blow against the elective franchise of the Irish people.

Such is a brief outline of the closing policy of the reign of George IV., with the Duke of Wellington as prime minister, and which the death of the King alone checked and limited to any further attempt to conform the English to foreign governments, and this by a man who, born and brought up in the camp—of active military habits—insatiable ambition, and attached to pleasure—had neither time nor leisure to study or acquire the art of governing a free and independent nation, and who carried with him into the councils of the nation, the discipline and tactics of a military college.

Before recurring to such matters as are personal to George IV., it will be well to institute a few observations respecting the extent to which the military acts which occurred

during his reign, ought to be considered as connected with his character as a sovereign; the language employed, when speaking of these and other remarkable events, being likely to lead to exceedingly erroneous opinions. If during the reign of a given king, events have taken place which are deemed 'glorious,' the reign itself is miscalled 'glorious,' and, by a natural transition, the epithet is applied to the monarch; whereas, at the very moment of their occurrence, he was perhaps employing himself in his splendid palaces with viewing his painted brass pans, or frightening the swans and geese upon his fish-ponds, with the clamour and uproar of his drums and cymbals. If all this be mere matter of formal observance, no harm can be considered to arise from it; but if, as is too often the case, persons be really led to believe that the character of the King is affected by the events happening during his reign, which events he in no way contributed to bring about, then a serious evil does flow from this absurd application of epithets. It may and does happen, that in the reign of a monarch, essentially stupid and vicious, many acts are performed, many discoveries made, which conduce greatly to the welfare of the country he governs. If, in spite of his own vicious conduct, the monarch may come to be considered worthy of admiration, in consequence of those beneficial acts and discoveries, our notions of right and wrong are perverted; a false and fictitious standard of morality is set up. It is requisite, therefore, completely to separate the acts in which the monarch took a part, from those in which he had no share, and to judge him solely by the former class. Thus during the regency of George IV., many proofs were given by the British army of extraordinary valour, and by some of our generals of great military skill; but as the King had no share in these achievements, they redound not to his credit, and, personally, no admiration is due to him on that account. In such portions of the planning the campaign, as really resulted from the ministers, the King might have had a part: there is, however, no evidence of this, neither is there any evidence that the plans, as far as regarded the share of the ministers, deserved any praise. For the conduct of the campaigns, it is plain that no praise is due but to the general and his army.

No admiration, for example, is due to George IV., that the Duke of Wellington, at Waterloo, was not completely outmanœuvred by Napoleon, and that the soldiers of the British army, by their unconquerable courage, turned the fate of the day. This victory has no more connexion with the consideration, personally, belonging to George IV., than has the discovery of the spinning jenny by Arkwright, that of the safety lamp by Davy, the principles of population by Malthus; or that of foreign trade by Ricardo. The King is as completely separated from the military as from the philosophic renown.

Catholic emancipation, which will be cited as an instance of the liberality of the King, is another of those acts which, though happening in his reign, does no honour to himself. The measure itself was a highly beneficial one, and the ministry, by yielding wisely to the pressure of circumstances, deserves a little praise for policy—but for policy alone. So long as the measure could be resisted, it was resisted. When opposition became dangerous, emancipation was granted; the principle then seeming to be, not to do all the good possible, not to advance cheerfully with the people, and even to precede them in improvement, but steadfastly to resist every advance, obstinately to retain every pernicious privilege as long as possible: to yield a benefit only on compulsion. However, whatever be the approbation due, it is well known that the measure was, even by the ministry, forced upon the King, that he was frightened into compliance, and that he never ceased to intrigue against the measure till the Bill had actually passed. The share he really did take in the proceeding had little worthy of public approbation.

Leaving then aside these various acts, in which the King had no share, what, it may be asked, is really attributable to him? The King, for his private satisfaction, prosecuted the late Queen; thus for the purpose of gratifying his selfish desires, setting the whole kingdom in a flame, and outraging all the decencies of social and domestic life. The King, for the purpose of playing a part in a pageant, got up a coronation at an unparalleled expense; he got up another at Hanover, and then fitted up his yacht with all royal magifi-

cence, to astound the unbreeched lairds of Caledonia with the view of the most polished gentleman of Europe. The King squandered enormous sums in fitting up Carlton House, which was afterwards pulled down. He also expended some hundred of thousands of pounds in repairing the palace of St. James', which he visited not half a dozen times after. He spent still more in repairing Windsor Castle, which was scarcely fit to receive him before he died;—and, lastly, he commenced the building of Buckingham Palace, which he never entered at all. This last abomination creates a blush on the face of official hirelings, that is, if individuals of that stamp can ever be brought to blush at any thing. The extravagance, impolicy, and injustice, which attended this precious proceeding, utterly overwhelmed the long-tried impudence of Downing-street. The representatives of the people could not be brought to vote any further sum for the completion of this palace, and it now stands as a monstrous insult upon the nation, and a monument of the reckless extravagance of its projector *. This statement of childish, yet criminal, wastefulness may yet be increased by a list of sundry changes and grotesque exhibitions of taste at Virginia Water; not to mention the expenditure entailed upon the nation by the costly household military establishment—by the maintenance of the establishment of the 'Lady Steward'—the decorations of his apartments, which occupied such portion of the royal attention as was not devoted to the more arduous task of adorning his palaces and cottages, laying out and stocking his fish-ponds, and other such frivolous considerations, so little worthy of the attention of the sovereign of the greatest and most civilized nation of the world.

The political relations of the country at the close of the year 1827 presented nothing of a cheering aspect. The inefficient ministry succeeding the death of Mr. Canning did not long struggle with its difficulties, but died a natural death in the

* This cumbrous pile now hangs as a dead weight upon the nation. It is never intended to finish it as a royal residence, and, like York House, it may one day become the residence of some opulent nobleman. It is computed that half a million is yet required for its completion, independently of furniture. The Duke of Northumberland is spoken of as the most probable purchaser, it having been refused by Lord Grosvenor.

beginning of the following year. The King, again abandoned, was like a ship at sea without a rudder or a pilot. His retired habits, his luxurious mode of life, with disease growing rapidly upon him, unfitted him for the toils of his station, and he therefore looked around him, for some man of decision and competent talent to succeed the vacillating and opposing elements of which the late cabinet had been constructed. The Duke of Wellington soon marshalled his forces; amongst whom he reckoned the whole strength of the party who had gone out on Mr. Canning's accession, and some portion of the new power acquired by that gentleman. Lord Lyndhurst became Chancellor, in consequence of the retirement of the Earl of Eldon, and Lord Dudley filled the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; with these exceptions, and losing Mr. Canning and Lord Liverpool, the administration was restored to the same state in which the illness of that nobleman had left it. Some further changes were effected on Mr. Huskisson's resignation which soon afterwards followed, and on the Duke of Clarence's resignation of the Admiralty.

The session of 1828 was opened on the 29th of January, by commission, and during all these changes and public difficulties, the King continued his retirement, and little of his private life was known to his subjects. In depicturing the full length portrait of George IV., with all its shades and brightnesses, there is one part of it which we have in some measure but slightly touched upon, and that is, his piety and religion. During the later years of his life, he was represented to his subjects as an edifying example of religion, and this was further lauded as a splendid illustration of the worth of the royal character. The Duke of York was also considered another shining light, and his opposition to the Catholic relief bill has been deemed a memorable instance of pure principles of religion. The circumstance of his always travelling with a Bible in his carriage has been spoken of as decisive of his pious disposition; and among the numerous anecdotes respecting the piety of George IV., and his correct estimate of Christian duties, the following is often quoted with a species of exultation. The King, one Sunday morning having discarded a servant in a passion and for no serious offence, was respectfully told by

the Bishop of Winchester, that he was not in a proper frame of mind to receive the sacrament. His Majesty, instead of being displeased, thanked his monitor, and by restoring the man to his place recovered his own peace of mind. His Majesty was also remarkable for his regular attendance at church, for his participation in the mystery of the sacrament, and for his correct and orthodox belief. Thus far all is well: and if we look no further, nothing can appear more edifying than the royal piety, and the martyr-like spirit of opposition manifested by the prelates of the church.

It becomes a part of our duty to investigate how far George IV. was entitled to the real character of a genuine religious and pious man; for we believe we are not singular in the opinion, that persons who are excessively orthodox in their belief, and who vehemently insist that others should be so, ought at least to set the example of a strict and full adherence in acts, to the consequences deduced as principles from that belief. It is not enough that, in mere formal observances, there be conformity to principle; it must extend to the substance of the law: for example, a Church of England Christian should be not only a regular attendant on church, but also a steady resister of the lusts of the flesh. The first observance, if commanded at all, is almost a matter of indifference; whereas the infringement of the latter is a mortal sin. That piety, therefore, which is confined to the former observance is but a poor apology for religious feelings. To a truly religious mind there is something exceedingly revolting in an outward cant and pretence to piety; in a godliness in minute and indifferent matters, and an open breach of the leading doctrines of religion, with pretended fervour on our lips, and super-sublimated piety of comportment. Louis XIV., surrounded by a host of mistresses and illegitimate offspring, listening with every symptom of devotion to the ascetic discourse of Bourdaloue or Massillon, and fasting according to the law, exhibits no very edifying example of piety. Neither did the prelate who reprimanded the King's grand-daughter, for appearing at mass in any thing but a full dress, betray any very exalted opinion of his mission. Like our prelate of Winchester, he had the extraordinary courage to reprimand, where he knew full well

there was no danger. But was there nothing else that it would have been better to amend before the reception of the sacrament? We would not be deemed too severe upon the foibles and *égaremens* of George IV.; but the following picture of other courts and times bears so strong a resemblance to some not so far distant, that we cannot refrain from inserting it:

'Ici Louis, le modèle des rois, vivait (c'est le mot à la cour) avec la femme Montespan, avec la fille Lavalière, avec toutes les filles que son bon plaisir fit ôter à leurs parents. C'était le temps alors des mœurs, de la religion; et il communiait tous les jours. Par cette porte entrait sa maîtresse le soir, et le matin son confesseur. Là, Henri faisait pénitence entre ses mignons et ses moines; *mœurs et religion du bon temps* *.' This religion of the good olden times is now correctly estimated by our neighbours; let us hope that we also may gather wisdom from experience, and learn properly to appreciate it.

To return more immediately to the political state of the country. The Wellington administration promised much, and performed but little. Napoleon has said, that there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous; and the Duke of Wellington has proved that there is but one step from the ridiculous to the tragical. The course of Wellington's administration tended to the most horrible of national calamities, a civil war; but as it was the declared condition of Canning's power that he should attempt no good, so it was the fortunate condition of Wellington's power that he should attempt no evil; and the rebound of the first blow that he struck at the popular cause, dashed him to the ground. He accordingly fell, but not we apprehend with the salutary effect of a warning. The merits of ministers, of late, seem to be as imperfectly understood as their disasters. The causes in either case escape observation; the common mistake is to glorify the fly on the chariot's wheel for its course and speed. A minister taken out of the current of society, begins his career by obeying the impulse of opinion,

* Here Louis, the pattern of kings, lived (it is a court phrase) with the woman Montespan, with the girl Lavalière, and with all the girls, which it was his desire to abduct from their husbands or their relations. It was the time of good manners and of religion, and he took the sacrament every day. His mistress entered by the same door at night, and his confessor in the morning; there Henry did penance between his courtezans and his monks—these were the manners and the religion of the good olden times.

and deferring to the genius of the age. He is hailed as a being of a supernatural origin—he is worshipped as the saviour of his country—the man's head is turned; he is puffed up and incensed, till he believes a diviner mind is his; and in the pride of universal homage he begins to spurn considerations which would before have ruled him. He mistakes the weakness of others for his own strength, and fancies the world is waiting to obey his biddings. His disposition, formed by early habits and early prejudices, has then its free scope;—his behest goes forth, and he finds that St. James'-street and the clubs therein do not constitute the nation. How short a time ago was it when our politicians hung upon the words of Wellington as oracles of public safety? The confidence of patriots was laid at his feet; can we then wonder that he trampled on it? He carried, indeed, the Catholic emancipation, or, more properly speaking, he was compelled to carry it, *Tertius è cœlo cecidit Cato.* Like Gay's bear in the fable,

> The trick so swelled him with conceit,
> He thought no enterprise too great.

He has carried the parallel to the bear's disaster. The tilt against the freedom of the press, manifested the disposition of the Wellington government, as the result denoted its feebleness. The coincidence with the stronger proceedings to the same end, in France and Belgium, was suspicious, but the suspicion of conspiracy was angrily resented by those who did not choose the question to be raised, whether the emancipator of the Catholics at home could confederate with the enemies of civil liberty abroad.

During the latter part of the reign of George IV. the Duke of Wellington acted the king, and he was styled as such in the royal palaces by the cognomen of King Arthur. The downfall of his administration belongs not properly to the era of which we are now writing, but in it the materials were fast collecting, which were to hurl him from his 'high estate,' and to render him literally the jest of the nation. The chief instrument in the hands of the Great Captain in all his political battles was panic.—Plots in green bags had done great things for former administrations, and why not for his Grace's government? He frightened

George IV. into the emancipation of the Catholics by a representation of Ireland in flames, and the rivers running with blood; and he himself was shortly afterwards frightened by two aldermen of the City of London, one mounted on a white charger, from entering the said city, to partake of the civic feast. Swift gives it as his opinion, 'that a *small* infusion of the alderman is necessary to those who are embarked in public affairs.' The Duke of Wellington appears to have profited by the hint, and the two first aldermen that came to hand, he popped into his councils. We may be allowed to express our opinion, that the infusion was too strong—Swift expressly states, 'a *small* infusion'—a brace was probably too much meat for the mess; at all events it spoiled the panic. We are, however, anticipating the course of history, and we must leave it to the historian of the life of William IV. to finish the portraiture of the Wellington administration.

The close of the year 1828 was marked by the death of Lord Liverpool, an event which considerably affected the King, to whom he had been long a faithful minister; and during whose administration the British nation had risen to an unprecedented height of prosperity and commercial greatness.

The following short sketch of the life of this eminent statesman may not be unacceptable to our readers:—

Thomas Bankes Jenkinson was born June 7, 1770. He was educated at the Charter House, and at Oxford. He was in France at the breaking out of the Revolution, and corresponded with Mr. Pitt on the events then passing there. He entered the House of Commons in 1792, Member for Rye, where he had been elected before he was of age to enjoy his election. He soon distinguished himself as a sound thinker and an eloquent speaker. He supported the government, and with much talent opposed the great measures of the formidable opposition. Burke early prognosticated his future fame and utility. He was appointed a Commissioner of the India Board in 1793, and in the following year he avowed his memorable, prophetic, but apparently absurd belief, that the march of the allies to Paris was attainable and practicable. He was laughed at, but he lived to see the truth of his opinion proved by the fact. His great *forte* in Parliament was his *hereditary knowledge* in the affairs of commerce and the currency, on which

he always spoke with the confidence of judgment. He was married in 1795, and his father's title of Lord Hawkesbury devolved to him in the following year. He was Foreign Secretary in 1802, signed the treaty of peace with France, and for several years afterwards he took a lead in all the great political questions agitated in the House of Commons. He became Secretary of the Home Department on Mr. Pitt's return to power; he always conscientiously opposed concession to the Catholic claims. On the death of Mr. Pitt, he declined the offer of his Majesty to form a ministry, and accepted the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. In 1808 he succeeded to the title of Earl of Liverpool, on the death of his father, the first earl. He warmly supported the justice of England's aid to Spain and Portugal against France. On the death of Mr. Perceval, in 1812, Lord Liverpool acceded to the request of the Regent, and became Prime Minister. From the period of his elevation till the termination of the war, every day brought nearer and nearer the great event which he had so early prophesied; and the treaty at the end of the long war was honoured with the universal approbation of the whole kingdom, and indeed of all Europe. At the death of George III., Lord Liverpool retained his place, and from that period to the end of his life, his unceasing attention was paid to the internal resources of the country; and he died after years of labour, covered with honour, as an able statesman and an upright man.

Towards the close of the year 1828, proceedings of a very novel nature occurred in Ireland, and this period will form an epoch in her annals. A Catholic candidate stood for the county of Clare, upon the strength of his right, and on a new construction of existing statutes; he was returned by a large majority, but as he refused to take the necessary oaths at the bar of the House of Commons he was not allowed to take his seat. The Catholic Association, however, exerted itself to promote union among the peasantry, and to carry on with vigour the great object of emancipation. To oppose this new power, Orange Societies were revived, and Brunswick Lodges instituted; faction raged at its height, and the country appeared to be on the verge of a civil war.

It has been generally echoed throughout the country by the unthinking panegyrists of his late Majesty, that his devotion to the arts entwines itself with the national history; on this subject we may be allowed, as illustrative of his real character, to show how far that encomium was well merited. If we look to his support of men of genius, we find that the sum of his private munificence to the professors of science or art was confined to a few scanty pittances to a broken down playwright, or a superannuated fiddler; but where was seen an interest in the progress of science, an anxious solicitude for its success—a kind and friendly cheering on of the student and professor through times of doubt, and despondency, and want? Where was evinced a love of science for science itself? Where, unless some paltry interest of personal vanity was involved, was any science or any art made a matter of consideration? If his Majesty patronized any particular art, he was so selfish as to wish to keep it to himself, as was the case with the splendid articles made for the decoration of Windsor Castle, the richness and beauty of which were so great, that shreds of the carpeting and papering were exhibited as curiosities of British and foreign art. These shreds have been carefully preserved as articles of rarity, from the singular circumstance, *that strict orders were given*, at the time of furnishing the new apartments, that all these unused fragments *were to be destroyed*. Does this one act evince a disposition for the general dissemination of any art or invention?—on the contrary, by the selfish orders of one individual, the artist is excluded from profiting by his ingenuity, as he is obliged to confine it to the use and pleasure of the royal person.

The King was to a certain extent a great bibliomaniac, but there is a wide difference between buying books and making use of them. This reminds us of the following apt passage in a letter of Paul Louis Courier to M. et Madame Clavier—'N'avez vous jamais ouï parler du Marquis Tacconi à Naples, Grand Trésorier de la Couronne, grand amateur des livres et mon grand ami, que l'on vient de mettre aux galères? Il avait 100,000 livres de rente, et il faisait de faux billets, c'était pour acheter des livres et il ne lisait jamais. Sa bibliothèque magnifique était plus à moi qu'à lui, aussi suis-je fort fâché de

son aventure.—Mais dites moi, auriez vous cru que la fureur bibliomaniaque pût aller jusque-là *?' A man who forges to buy books he never reads, may have an extraordinary love for books, or may be vain of possessing them, but assuredly he cannot be said to have a love of the knowledge which those books contain—which love alone evinces a cultivated mind, and a true and worthy interest in the progress of science. His collection, considered as evidence respecting the character of his mind or pursuits, might as well be a room surrounded by shelves adorned with painted backs of books. So it is with pictures: it is not merely by possessing them that a taste is evinced for the art itself, or an understanding of its principles, or an interest in its success. Of his late Majesty's interest in literature, besides the possession of books he never read, we have no evidence. As to official donations to literary job societies, they are matters of mere observance, done in a public capacity, as part of the duties of that capacity, the money also coming directly out of the pockets of the people, and being used as a matter of patronage. Moreover, the societies themselves are, with very rare, perhaps it may be truly asserted, with no exceptions, hindrances to the advance of science. To foster them is to render literature and art, like everything else in this country, a job, an instrument of personal undeserved advantages, and not a public benefit. These societies arise out of, and are conducted with a view to personal interest; and high patronage is afforded to them from personal vanity, or for political purposes. Make everything, and above all literature, a job, and you take the most effectual means of maintaining the great dominant parent job, the government.

There was one taste of the late King which may be correctly said to be an elegant taste, *viz.*, his supposed love of painting. The disposition of his mind, the class and character of his ideas, were here evinced in a no less remarkable manner

* Have you never heard of the Marquess Tacconi of Naples, Grand Treasurer of the Crown, a great lover of books, and my most particular friend, who has just been sent to the galleys? His rental was 100,000 livres, and he committed several forgeries to enable him to buy books, at the same time that he never reads. His magnificent library belongs more to me than to him—but still I am very sorry for his fate. Tell me, however, could you believe that the bibliomaniac rage could carry a man so far?

than in his debasing amusements. As is well known to every one, the beauties of the art may be, and are usually, divided into two distinct classes; first, such as result from the depicting scenes whose interest depends upon moral causes; and, second, such as result from a correct imitation of mere physical objects. To the first class belong all the grand conceptions of the art,—conceptions which make its professors often for intellectual power take a rank with the leading minds which from time to time elevate and do honour to our species. They who take delight in the works of these men, they who do so, not from fashion, but from a thorough understanding of the high intellectual characteristics which distinguish them, are and must be themselves, *pro tanto*, men of cultivated and exalted tastes. The second portion of the art may again be, and is usually, subdivided; and there is another portion of this division, which is no way, or very slightly, connected with human emotions, or if connected with them, it is with those of the least elevated description; such, for example, are those exquisite imitations by the Dutch painters of brass pans, large cabbages, glasses of wine and beer, or the light of candle. Such, to make one step higher in the art, are drinking, dancing, and amorous boors. It is well known that the pleasure which George IV. took in painting was, in some degree, confined to an admiration of this class. His collection of the Dutch masters chiefly occupied such portion of his attention as was bestowed upon painting. His painted brass pans are the best in the world; in fact, in the vulgar walks of the art he is reported to have had the best collection in this country.

Let us, however, penetrate into the boudoir of his late Majesty, that sanctum sanctorum in which voluptuousness was dominant—in which the jaded senses, no longer able to enjoy the reality, feasted themselves on the representation, but from which modesty would have veiled her face, and decency have shrunk abashed. Where are now those matchless gems, so styled,—those chef-d'œuvres of the British pencil, the merit of which lay in the greater or less degree in which the voluptuousness of the female form could be exhibited?—Where is that one celebrated painting on which his Majesty gloated,

which, in the years of his senilitude, reminded him *of what he once was*, and which he deemed cheaply bought at the price of a thousand guineas, and to obtain which, a certain artist, not a hundred miles from the Adelphi, gave one hundred guineas to a particular female belonging to the Opera House to sit before him *in paribus naturæ?* Who will panegyrize the taste of that individual as *chaste and pure*, who could send his agent to the sale of Sir Mark Sykes' *extraordinary* collection, with a carte blanche to purchase, at *any* amount, that rare engraving of which there is only one in the world, as the first impression was no sooner taken off than the plate was destroyed? It has been hinted to us into whose hands these precious relics of a sovereign's taste have fallen, not by any presumptive right or bequest, but by a very apt method peculiar to certain people of appropriating to themselves what does not belong to them, and which, if falling into the possession of others, would carry with them the conviction of their own shame and infamy.

George IV. was a man of the most refined, the most exquisite taste, but let it not be whispered by any that his Majesty had a building taste and a dressing taste; let Buckingham House be passed by as if it were a spectre, with a little Nash squatting on the cupola, laughing at the gullibility of the English people—let no one say that there is a pavilion at Brighton with a harem at one end and a chapel at the other—let no one speak of the Chinese temple of Virginia Water, or the Chinese bridge over the stagnant moat of St. James' Park—let every one forget the Guards, and be particularly silent as to the Tenth—let all bury in oblivion those numerous and important orders issuing from the Horse-Guards, to determine the position of a button, the adjustment of a sash, or the colour of a facing. We say in charity, and in the true spirit of loyalty, let no one speak of these things.

Such was the man whose manners, according to the Duke of Wellington, received a polish, whose understanding acquired a degree of cultivation, almost unknown to any individual, and who was admitted by all to be the most accomplished man of his age. This most accomplished man of his age could not write his own language correctly; he, whose understanding

was cultivated beyond that of all other men, never said, wrote, nor did a single thing which, as a proof of intellectual power, would entitle him to rank above the poorest dabbler in wit, science, or literature. Let us take, for instance, the following letter written by him to Mr. Alexander Davison, the celebrated coal contractor, *&c. &c. &c.*, on the death of Lord Nelson, and which has been pompously quoted as an excellent specimen of his Majesty's talent for epistolary correspondence, as well as of the greatness of his feelings; with the latter, *in this instance*, we have nothing to do. The grammar, and the general construction of the whole epistle, would disgrace a school-boy of Harrow or of Eton. It would be an insult to our readers to point out the errors—they are too gross to escape detection.

'I am extremely obliged to you, my dear Sir, for your confidential letter, which I received this morning. You may be well assured, that did it depend upon me, there would not be a wish, a desire of our ever-to-be-lamented and much-loved friend, as well as adored hero, that I would not consider as a solemn obligation upon his friends and his country to fulfil; it is a duty they owe his memory, and his matchless and unrivalled excellence. Such are my sentiments; and I hope that there is still in this country sufficient honour, virtue, and gratitude, to prompt us to ratify and to carry into effect the last dying request of our Nelson,—by that means proving, not only to the whole world, but to future ages, that we were worthy of having such a man belonging to us. It must be needless, my dear Sir, to discuss over, with you in particular, the irreparable loss dear Nelson ever must be, not merely to his friends, but to his country, especially at the present crisis, and during the present most awful contest; his very name was a host of itself—Nelson and victory were one and the same to us, and it carried dismay and terror to the hearts of our enemies. But the subject is too painful a one to dwell longer upon. As to myself, all that I can do, either publicly or privately, to testify the reverence, the respect I entertain for his memory as a hero, and as the greatest public character that ever embellished the page of history, independent of what I can, with the greatest truth, term the enthusiastic attachment I felt for him as a friend, I consider it as my duty to fulfil; and therefore, though I may be prevented from taking that ostensible and prominent situation at his funeral which I think my birth and high rank entitle me to claim, still nothing shall prevent me, in a private character, fol-

lowing his remains to their last resting-place; for though the station and the character may be less ostensible, less prominent, yet the feelings of the heart will not therefore be the less poignant or the less acute.

'I am, my dear Sir, with the greatest truth,

'Ever very sincerely your's,

'GEORGE P.'

'*Brighton, December* 18, 1805.

To Alexander Davison, Esq., St. James's-square, London.'

The assertion which we have now made has been done advisedly, and it is one which we wish to have scrutinized to the *very letter*. Let us look through the late King's life, in his public and his private character; take every, or any act well authenticated as his, and then let the question be asked, how many men in this country could do and have done things immeasurably superior, and with means in their hands which stand in the ratio of one to a thousand? Is he to be lauded as the most cultivated man of his age, whose whole life must actually be ransacked to find even one act evincing mental power, and that, too, when the world teems with men whose whole lives have been a series of long uninterrupted efforts of intellectual labour; who day after day have added to the stock of human knowledge, and have rendered service to human nature? We do not mean to say that he should have outvied Charles V. of Spain in clock-making, Peter I. of Russia in ship-building, the late King of Naples in inventing traps for game, or his own illustrious father in turnery and button-making; but we boldly ask, in what grade of comparison he is to be placed, so as to entitle him, according to the dictum of my Grace of Wellington, to the most accomplished man of his age? Shall we look back and compare him, as to a cultivated mind, even with his own political associates; those great and darling master-spirits who shone as a halo around him, and from whose society no one but the consummate blockhead, the mere mass of impenetrable granite, would have emerged, without having stored up a fund of the most profound practical and theoretical knowledge? Where is the man who, placing him by the side of Burke, does not behold the royal compeer shrink to the dimensions of a pigmy? who can view

him in the society of that man as his intimate associate, and who in intellectual capacity shines in the annals of his country as one of its proudest ornaments, that does not feel how low and insignificant the royal scion appears in comparison with the humble plebeian? Can we liken George IV. to Fox or Sheridan—those unquenchable luminaries of the intellectual world; men with whom he passed the wild and dissolute hours of his youth, but from whose lips shot forth the genius of the human character, redolent with wit, wisdom, and learning? and we may perhaps be censured for mentioning the following name—dear to genius and to knowledge—but did not Hume live within his day?—a name, it is true, which sounds as dissonance to the orthodox, but it will live and increase in repute and veneration in proportion as human intellect advances; and his tomb, situated on one of the proudest sites of Scotia, will be visited as holding the ashes of a man who, having penetrated into the arcana of truth, dared, and nobly dared to divulge them. To descend from the high estate of talent and of genius, let us go to something even below the ordinary level. Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII. were both far the superiors of George IV. in every portion of their education; and their tastes, particularly those of Louis XVI., were for the most part the tastes of educated men. To make the assertion of the Duke of Wellington still more ridiculous, let us take as a comparison a man of high rank, brought up in dangerous indulgences, in the enjoyment of wealth and without a ruler,—one of dissolute and idle habits,—let us, in short, take Lord Byron, and place him beside the King, to be judged as to the cultivation of his mind;—in what single circumstance could the King claim superiority? Change their situations; make Byron the King, and the King a peer; and who is there that does not see that his late Majesty would have been undistinguished from the herd of right honourable mediocrity, while Byron for mental power would have stood almost alone in the world's annals of kingship? But it may be said, this is not what is meant by a cultivated mind,—neither knowledge nor intellectual power is intended; but if not, are we to understand by it a power acquired by care over our desires, a good government, in short, of ourselves in life, obtained by watchfulness and training? A

review of the late King's career at once proves, that no such meaning could have been in the speaker's thoughts. Truly polished manners cannot be supposed to be the cultivated understanding spoken of, for these are expressly added in the list of advantages. Let us cut the matter short at once, and avow that the Duke, determined to eulogize, let his imagination get the better of his judgment, and throughout was more solicitous of making flattering than correct assertions.

It may possibly be objected that the whole of the above observations respecting the private character of the late King, and the mode throughout in forming our estimation, have been based upon an incorrect principle. It might be said that, to take isolated transactions—transactions happening at long intervals of time, and on them to form an estimate which includes the whole of a character, is to pursue an unfair and deceptious method; that a character can only be, in fact, correctly estimated upon a contemplation of the whole of a man's acts, and that any one formed upon consideration of less than the whole must be erroneous. That, for example, in the case of the late King, allowing the acts deduced to be far from praiseworthy, it may have happened that the intervals of time between them may have been passed in the most exemplary and meritorious manner, and consequently it may be asserted that the impression likely to be left on the mind of the reader by our observations, would be wholly incorrect.

The Parliament in 1829 assembled on the 5th of February, and the speech was of a much more important nature than such documents in general are found to be. After alluding to the war of Russia against Turkey, the state of Spain, and to the still suspended international relation of England and Portugal, and of the general good will of the European Powers towards this country, the speech proceeded as to more immediately essential matters—the recommendation of a calm consideration of the Catholic question. The division of opinion on this great question was nowhere more visible than amongst the members of the Royal Family. George III. had ever been decidedly hostile to the allowance of these claims. The Dukes of York and Cumberland inherited these sentiments. The Duke of Sussex had always argued with great vigour on the

opposite side, in which he was occasionally joined by the Duke of Clarence, but it was always considered that George IV. was decidedly hostile to any concession of political power to the Catholics. Our limits will not allow us to enter into any discussion of this important question, but we may be allowed to remark, that if any given measure be not attended with the result expected, it goes a great way to prove that the projectors of such measure were wrong in their calculations. The tranquillity of Ireland was the effect to be produced by the admission of the Catholics to political power, but so far from that event having taken place, we now find that country in the most distracted and disorganized condition, and it is only by the strong arm of military power that the people are prevented from rising in rebellion against their rulers. We are, however, told, that if the Catholic bill had not passed, Ireland would ere now have detached itself from England, and formed a government of its own. It is at best an hypothesis for which no proof has been given; and we are still certain that any administration but that of Wellington, which was based on fear and panic, would have had energy sufficient to hold out the arm of defiance to the rebellious demagogues of Ireland, and have shown them that England was strong enough to suppress any attempt at the separation of the two countries. The session was closed by commission, and this may be said to close the political life of George IV., for he never afterwards took any active part in public business.

The private life of the King was as little eventful as the functions of his state were varied. He showed himself to a few thousands of his subjects at Ascot Heath races, and the public heard now and then of the removal of the Royal Person from Windsor Castle to the Royal Lodge, and from the Royal Lodge to Windsor Castle. We also heard at times of a distinguished party being invited to relieve the tedium of declining life, when the light of the King's countenance shone alike on all; and great, we opine, must have been the delight and satisfaction of those favoured individuals on whom such a royal effulgence shone.

The palaces!—the palaces!—however, still continued to engage a great proportion of the royal attention. The scene

of his early vices, every stone of which, if gifted with the power of speech, could 'blazon to the world some strange and monstrous deed,' was razed to the ground; and Carlton House, which, in its decorations and improvements, has absorbed a million of the peoples' money, stands no longer obtrusive to the view, the monument of the misdeeds of a dissolute and profligate prince. The palace of St. James was sometimes still used on state occasions, but George IV. never made it his place of residence. Kew was in ruins, and Buckingham House was pulled down, and chosen (a proof of exquisite taste) as the site of a new and splendid mansion, fitted for the residence of England's King. Windsor, however, was the grand scene of the royal rage for building, alteration, and improvement; one week we hear of his Majesty being driven by the workmen from Windsor Castle to the Royal Cottage; and the next week some vagary started into the royal mind, and the workmen at the Royal Cottage drove him back to Windsor Castle. The royal out-of-door amusements consisted of sailing and fishing in Virginia Water; but from this species of recreation he was ultimately restricted by his physicians, on account of the injury which his health might sustain from the insalubrity of the place. In his now secluded state, he enjoyed the lighter literature of the day, and the reading of the drama was a favourite amusement. The latter circumstance led to the introduction of Miss Chester into his establishment as *reader* to his Majesty. It was at the theatre where the graces of the lovely actress attracted the notice of royalty, and he made his penchant known through the means of Sir Thomas Lawrence, who was at that time engaged in taking the portrait of the lady as well as his Majesty. A meeting was soon obtained, and a kind of excuse was adopted to have Miss Chester near his person; a dexterous one of appointing her 'private reader' was adopted, and a salary of 600*l.* per annum allowed. Thus was Miss Chester placed on the royal establishment, and her name emblazoned in the red book.

Occasional attacks of illness now disturbed the seclusion of the King, while they offered an inducement to its continuance. The people, indeed, had been long inured to the loss of the King's presence, but they could not be brought to reconcile

themselves to doubts and difficulties concerning his health, and even his existence. There was another cause of anxiety—trade, which had begun to revive, was almost suspended in apprehension of the royal demise. The usual impulse to the works of dress and fancy, which is given by the approach of spring, was opposed by the idea that taste and fancy would not long be allowed to prevail in dress, but that one suit of sable was about to indue the land. Notwithstanding the extreme secrecy which was observed by the whole establishment of Windsor Castle, it was generally known that his Majesty was afflicted with a serious illness, but of the exact nature of it no particulars ever transpired until after his death. There is some reason to suppose that his Majesty's medical advisers were aware of the nature of the disorder as early as January, 1830, and had determined it to be an inflammatory dropsy.

In the beginning of March it was stated that his Majesty took exercise for three hours every day in the Great Park, Windsor, by driving himself in his pony phaëton to inspect the Royal Lodge improvements, in which it was his intention to take up his abode on the 1st of June; but so short-sighted is human life in regard to the future, that on the 1st of June he was on his death-bed. The exercise was probably recommended by his Majesty's physicians, as the best means of retarding the progress of the disease.

Towards the end of March his Majesty discontinued his excursions, and it was announced that he had caught a slight cold, which was probably only a symptom of a disease which continues long on the constitution, and is sometimes imperceptible even to the most acute physician. Yet it can hardly be supposed that his Majesty's illness arose from this cause, although colds frequently do lay the foundation of dropsy. His Majesty at this time was confined for a short period to his bed-chamber, but he was soon able to meet his distinguished visitors at the social table. About this period, also, he lost one of the oldest and most attached of his attendants, Sir Edmund Nagle—a loss which, added to the increase of his other infirmities, his Majesty severely felt.

On the last few days of March, the airings in the Park were resumed, and it was announced that his Majesty would leave

the Castle for London on the 21st or 22nd of April, to reside for five weeks at St. James'.

In the beginning of April, the visits of one of his Majesty's physicians, Sir Henry Halford, to the Castle, were generally noticed; but as they were not of such frequency nor haste as to cause any suspicion of immediate danger, the public forgot that there are some maladies, which, though slow in their operation, are far more dangerous than the most acute diseases. In well-informed quarters the nature of the malady had been understood before, though a certain delicacy towards his Majesty prevented the announcement of it in the papers; but receipts for the cure of asthma and dropsy became very numerous in the public prints, even at an earlier period.

The first severe attack of his Majesty appears to have been a spasmodic affection of the bowels, attended with a slight hiccup. The proper methods of cure were applied, and with the view of allaying the fears and suspicions of the people, preparations were made to hold a levee and birth-day court at St. James'; and on the 7th of April his Majesty held a court at Windsor, but it was well known that no real intention ever existed of holding the court at St. James'.

On the 8th of April, in company with the Lord Steward, his Majesty rode out in his pony phaëton, with several of his attendants in another vehicle. On Monday the 12th, his Majesty again rode out—and, for the last time;—he returned to his Castle, never to leave it again but as the tenant of a coffin. During the night of the 12th, his Majesty's illness increased, and Sir Henry Halford, according to his usual practice in such cases, slept at the Castle. He left in the morning, but again returned on Tuesday evening. He again went to town on Wednesday morning, but returned to Windsor; and, as the King's illness still increased, he sent for Sir Matthew Tierney at an early hour on Thursday morning: they immediately held a consultation, and issued the first bulletin a few minutes before one on Thursday, the 15th. The bulletin was as follows:

Windsor Castle, April 15.

We regret to state that the King has had a bilious attack, accompanied by an embarrassment in breathing. His Majesty, although free from fever, is languid and weak.

This bulletin gave rise to many criticisms, and it must be apparent that either his Majesty himself was ignorant of the nature of his disease, and that his physicians wished to keep him so, or that his physicians were themselves in his case ignorant of the nature of a disease whose diagnosis is never very difficult; the former supposition is infinitely the more probable of the two. The bulletin was addressed partly to the King himself, and partly to the public; it gave the latter to understand that their Sovereign was in danger, while it did not inform his Majesty of what none of his subjects could have desired him to be informed of—that his doom was sealed, and that a few months must terminate his career on earth. To look on certain death for days beforehand is, perhaps, the bitterest part of a criminal's sufferings; but surely no one would have inflicted that torture on royalty for months. We never disputed the firmness, physically speaking, of George IV., but this would have been putting it to an unnecessary ordeal. Sir H. Halford set out from the castle soon after issuing the bulletin, leaving Sir M. Tierney in attendance, who remained all night. It had now been apparently settled that the physicians should relieve each other—an arrangement which implied no immediate danger, as one physician could not take upon himself to issue a bulletin. Accordingly no bulletin was issued on Friday, April the 16th, but it was merely announced in the 'Court Circular,' that the symptoms of his Majesty's disease were rather more favourable. His Majesty also passed a more comfortable night than he had before been able to do; the nature of his disease, which is seldom attended with fever, or anything but debility and unfitness for exercise, rendering sleep almost impracticable, and in fact dangerous, unless with his head in an extremely elevated position. Flattering hopes were, however, entertained at this time by his Majesty, of a return to strength; and to indulge those hopes, the physicians both left Windsor on Saturday by his desire, but Sir H. Halford returned in the evening. The treatment of the physicians was what is usual on such occasions, but at the same time avoiding to debilitate too much his system, and endeavouring to restore its force by the various resources which their skill supplied. On Sunday night it was thought neces-

sary that both physicians should remain in attendance on his Majesty, principally for the purpose of issuing a joint bulletin on Monday morning. In regard to this and the other bulletins that were issued, although they may be considered as historical documents, yet we must refrain from inserting them, especially as their great object was to deceive the people as to the real state of his Majesty's malady. Perhaps in no case of a royal malady were the bulletins so remarkable for their obscurity; and although the final result might have been early predicted with tolerable accuracy, yet this source of information was closed against the people, and many interests suffered from this unusual and unnecessary ambiguity.

The chief aim of the physicians now appeared to be to endeavour to mitigate symptoms, and their treatment produced an apparent improvement, but they could not venture to make themselves responsible for a total concealment of the King's danger.

The Duke of Cumberland called that day. Both Sir H. Halford and Sir Matthew Tierney returned to town on Monday, but the former was at Windsor again in the evening, and on his return next morning he had an interview with the Duke of Wellington, at which certain explanations were given. The Duchess of Gloucester, the favourite sister of his Majesty, also saw his Majesty on the same day, by invitation.

It was now pretty generally understood that his Majesty's complaint was dropsy. No physician was in attendance during the day. The symptoms were mitigated, and the King himself caused, on Thursday morning, a bulletin to be issued, signed by Sir H. Halford alone, in the following laconic terms—'The King is better.'

On that day his Majesty was able to sign several official documents, and the same favourable appearances continuing, some faint hopes were entertained of his recovery. The general longevity of his family, the almost patriarchal age of his father, and his Majesty's well-known vigorous constitution, had taught his people to expect a long life for the King.

It was now found necessary to have recourse to scarification for the removal of the fluid for the moment, and the operation was performed by Mr. O'Reilly. The well-informed, however,

were not deceived by flattering accounts. Sir H. Halford became uneasy about the responsibility which he took upon himself in signing the bulletin alone; and on Monday morning the two physicians to his Majesty held a consultation, when another of the ambiguous bulletins was issued, from which not the slightest information could be obtained of the actual state of the King's health.

The symptoms were now again becoming unfavourable, and it was determined to issue daily bulletins signed by both physicians.

On April 29th, the Lord Chamberlain issued an order deferring the levee and drawing-room which were to be held on the 5th and 17th of May, in celebration of his Majesty's birthday. Occasional gleams of relief occurred in the beginning of May, but of very partial consequences. The physicians had now found it necessary to discontinue the more active medicines, and to lay more stress on gentler remedies and diet. The Duke of Sussex, early in May, sent his Majesty a chair of a peculiar construction, adapted to the circumstances of the case, and this attention was deeply felt by his Majesty. In return the King sent the riband of the Order of St. Patrick, which he himself had worn, and the present was accompanied by a very affectionate letter.

During this period Mr. Brodie had performed the operation of puncturing the legs—an operation which, at best, only affords temporary relief, and is attended with great danger of mortification. The operations which his Majesty had now undergone, though they prolonged his life, caused him pains from which he had before been free; and at this time his torture was said to be so great as to have extinguished in him all desire of living. The symptoms, however, again abated, and the immediate fear of mortification proved ungrounded. The punctures showed a tendency to heal, and the operation, of course, was attended with temporary benefit. The symptoms alternated repeatedly, and operations were performed when necessary, but the danger now became more imminent.

The principal seat of the disease was now stated to be in the chest; less active medicines were employed as the strength of the patient declined, but his Majesty was able to peruse the

daily public prints. About the middle of May there was an improvement in the symptoms, and his Majesty took some exercise in a wheel-chair in the picture gallery. The King suffered less from the asthmatic and spasmodic symptoms, but during the last week in May another unfavourable turn took place. It was obvious to every one who understood the nature of his Majesty's disease, that these repeated changes were connected with the operations and active remedies which were adopted whenever the symptoms threatened a crisis. The puncturing is not in itself a very painful operation, as it consists merely in introducing under the distended skin a very fine needle, which makes a wound scarcely visible; but the inflammation which resulted from the scarifications produced a local disease, which had equally to be guarded against, as it might have ended in mortification. It was understood that setons had been tried with a partially good effect. On the 5th of June the most alarming announcements were made. Expresses were sent off to the members of the Royal Family, and to the Duke of Wellington, to inform them of the King's immediate danger. The puncturing was again applied, but with less benefit. On the 9th of June his Majesty was so much worse, that the physicians deliberated on issuing a second bulletin, but his Majesty himself decidedly opposed it, and, in fact, even at this period, the royal sufferer does not appear to have considered himself in imminent danger. His constitution still bore up against the disease, and about the 12th instant, the anxiety which had pervaded all classes in the expectation of an immediate demise was in some degree removed. It was now generally supposed that, though his Majesty was incurable, he might live many weeks, and public curiosity partially subsided. His Majesty's respiration was announced to be easy, and the physicians, in their bulletins, said he felt better. It was rumoured, and correctly, that an operation was performed about this period, or rather previously to the last amelioration of his symptoms. This operation was of a more serious nature than any before performed.

The crisis was now fast approaching, yet the death of the King was not expected till Friday night, the 25th. The physicians, however, had been aware that it would probably be

sudden, and the royal sufferer was prepared to receive the awful summons with resignation and submission. His Majesty's phrase was when this intimation was given to him a fortnight previously, 'God's will be done.' Within the last week he spoke but little, and in a tone quite faint, and sometimes almost inaudible and inarticulate. To speak so as to be heard in the chamber appeared to give him pain, and to require an effort beyond the remaining strength of his shattered constitution. Business of any kind became irksome to him, and affected his temper.

As early as the 24th of May an important message to both houses of Parliament announced the melancholy intelligence, that the King's severe indisposition rendered it inconvenient and painful to authenticate those papers which required his sign manual. A commission was appointed, and an act passed to legalize the use of a stamp framed for the occasion. This arrangement, so important to the public business, caused a great deal of unnecessary discussion. To the people it was the first true indication of the despair which began to beset all parties as to the ultimate recovery of the King.

By an addition made to the bill for sanctioning the application of the royal signature by a stamp, it was required that the consent of the King should be signified 'by word of mouth.' Lastly, the royal sufferer could hardly whisper his verbal consent.

The death-bed scene of a monarch is one of the most impressive lessons that humanity can be taught. It shows the nothingness—the emptiness of earthly grandeur, and that a king after all is nothing more than a mere human being, subject to a common destiny as the meanest beggar of the country. Let us view George IV. in the most splendid palace of the Kings of England, surrounded by elegance and luxuries unknown to his predecessors, lying on his couch of anguish. A life of prosperity was near its close; the poisonous dregs of the cup of pleasure 'gnawed his inwards;' the authority of the monarch could not exalt the voice of weakness; the glance of the triumphant opponent of a world in arms could not repel the approach of the last enemy; the powers of a rarely-equalled constitution were exhausted; the 'mould of

form' was pressed out of its fine proportions by pain and decay; the features of beauty were no longer enlightened with the glow of health and the beam of intellect. A poor old man, the wreck of a fine person, loaded with more than the infirmity of age and sickness, he was an object of painful contemplation to his attendants. The offices of duty, which men in humble stations claim from friends and relatives, and which are offered with love and pity, were performed by persons paid to offer them, and whose nearest affections sprung from their own self-interest. This is one of the penalties which the frailty of human nature exacts from greatness. If at any moment the king can be an object of curiosity to the philosopher, it is in the moment of death. George IV. had long been the envy of his people; how different were the feelings which the scene we are now about to describe was calculated to excite.

Late on Thursday, the 24th, there had been some symptoms which indicated a crisis of his Majesty's disorder; the expectorations became more tinged with blood, and appearances indicated that a rupture of some blood vessel had taken place. The King was himself aware of the inevitable result of these symptoms of his malady. He was reduced to the lowest degree of physical exhaustion, and the loss of any blood in that condition was, he knew, fatal. In the course of Friday evening, the 25th, before nine o'clock, the physicians intimated to the royal patient their inability to give him further relief, and their opinion that his last moments were rapidly approaching. To this communication his Majesty replied, 'God's will be done;' and in a few moments after he asked, 'Where is Chichester?' The Bishop of Chichester was instantly summoned to the royal chamber, and at his hands the dying Sovereign received the sacrament. During the administration of this rite his Majesty was much less troubled by the cough than he had previously been. Towards midnight the physicians retired to rest, leaving the King under the immediate care of Sir Wathen Waller, whose night turn it was to be in waiting, with Messrs. Batchelor and Kinnaird, two pages of the household. His Majesty was now dosing, though he had slept little during the evening, and suffered much from his cough. His exhaustion was greatly increased. From eleven to three o'clock his

Majesty appeared to be suffering what is commonly called restless sleep. He opened his eyes occasionally, and when he coughed he appeared to suffer more than the usual pain, but nothing occurred until three o'clock to indicate any particular change. The King then beckoned to Batchelor to change his position in the bed. His Majesty for the last two months had slept on a bed in a raised position, and partly in a chair of a peculiar construction, padded and cushioned, and capable of being elevated or turned, so as to assist any mode of placing the body.

The King was in bed when the stroke of death fell upon him. The page next him instantly proceeded to raise his Majesty, according to the motion which he signified by his finger. The King was at once assisted to his chair, and a great alteration overcast the royal countenance; the King's eyes became fixed, his lips quivered, and he appeared to be sinking into a fainting fit. The physicians were instantly sent for, and the attendants at once assisted the King with sal volatile, eau de Cologne, and such other stimulants as were at hand on the table. At this moment his Majesty attempted to raise his hand to his breast, faintly ejaculating, 'Oh, God, *I am dying;*' and after two or three seconds of time, he uttered the following words, which were his last, 'THIS IS DEATH!'—his expiring condition barely enabling him to announce the fatal sensation, so as to be heard by the page, on whose shoulder his Majesty's head had fallen. The King died exactly at thirteen minutes past three o'clock on Saturday morning; and from the moment of his dying exclamation, his dissolution came on so quietly and so gradually, that the physicians had some difficulty in ascertaining precisely at what moment he ceased to exist. In the mean time the Bishop of Chichester, and all the principal members of the royal household, with the pages in immediate attendance, were called in, and in their presence, without the slightest indication of suffering, his Majesty calmly expired. The principal persons present were—the Bishop of Chichester, the physicians, the Marquess of Conyngham, Sir Andrew Barnard, Sir William Keppell, Sir William Knighton, Sir Wathen Waller, Lord Strathaven, and Colonel Thornton; and when

the physicians had announced that his Majesty had ceased to exist, the before-mentioned persons retired, leaving the pages in attendance to perform the necessary attention to the royal corpse, under the superintendence of the physicians.

The stroke of death, it was manifest, had fallen lightly on the King; the features were neither drawn nor distorted, but appeared in that serene and tranquil state which would have induced the belief that his Majesty still slept, and reminded the beholder, that 'sleep is elder brother to death.' The King, it was observed, looked comparatively well; the cheeks, however, appeared rather sunk, and the abdomen much raised.

The body having been placed on a couch, was covered with a fine linen sheet, turned down so as to expose a part of the bust. In this state the royal corpse was submitted to the view of the household, the out-door servants, their families, and acquaintance. They were freely admitted, from about five in the morning until after eight, by which time several hundreds of persons had not only seen, but taken by the hand, the deceased Sovereign. The scene which ensued is described as very afflicting. Many of these persons had lived with the King for more than a quarter of a century, and had been attached to him by the warmest ties of affectionate duty. Some even were observed to shed tears, indicating their sense of the loss of their master; and, it may be added, of their places also.

On the following morning, Sir Astley Cooper arrived, upon whom, as sergeant-surgeon, the examination and embalming of the royal body devolved. Sir Astley, accompanied by Sir Henry Halford and Sir Matthew Tierney, Mr. Brodie, and Mr. O'Reilly, surgeons, and Mr. Nussey, and certain officers of the King's household, proceeded to an examination of the body. The result was, that his Majesty's disorder was an extensively diseased organization of the heart; this was the primary disorder, although dropsical symptoms subsequently supervened, and in fact there was a general breaking up of his Majesty's constitution. The heart was uncommonly enlarged, but there was no effusion of water on the thorax cavity. The valves of the heart had become partially ossified, and there was

a considerable degree of fatness about that organ generally. The liver was not diseased, the lungs were ulcerated, and there were dropsical symptoms of the skin in various parts of the body, but not of a nature necessarily to produce death. They appeared rather the eventual consequence of the impeded circulation of the blood, owing to the disorganization of the functions of the heart. There were also indications of disease of the bones, arising from the primary disorder; indeed the debilitated circulation of the vital fluid had everywhere left the traces of its long existence.

The torture which the King suffered during the paroxysms of his disorder must have been excruciating, since it is said that his moans were at times even heard by the sentinels on duty in the quadrangle, the stations of two of whom were removed to a greater distance, in consequence of the soldiers having mentioned the sounds which they overheard.

From the irregular and at times languid circulation, which the disorder of the heart had occasioned, his Majesty had, within the three last months, found temporary relief from a regulated use of some liquors; mixed curaçoa, eau de Cologne, weak brandy and water, were, under regimen, his general liquids. The struggle of the royal sufferer was hard, but he was daily sinking under it, until death relieved him at last by the pure exhaustion of the system.

Immediately after the demise of the Sovereign, Windsor Castle appeared as an immense solitude, no person, except on special business, was admitted within the inner portals; no public functionaries were seen without, and the few attendants who passed in and out were in deep mourning; the royal standard was lowered half mast high, and every window of the magnificent pile was closed. In fact, the terrace and such apartments as were usually shown to the public were closed some days previously to the death of the King; but to compensate for the disappointment of visiters, the royal cottage was open to their inspection.

At this moment a distant view of Windsor Castle would have saddened the lover of meditation, even were he amidst the joyous scenes of the surrounding country. How deep would be his melancholy in approaching the vast pile, and

associating its new-sprung glories with the memory of the monarch at whose fiat they rose in all the pride of modern art, till Death

> Came at the last, and with a little pin
> Bored through his castle wall, and farewell—King.

Mute will be the spectator's woe, and silent his sorrow, while he will say with the poet

> All flesh is grass, and all its glory fades
> Like the fair flower disshevelled in the wind;
> Riches have wings, and grandeur is a dream;
> The man we celebrate must find a tomb,
> And we that worship him ignoble graves.

Preparations were now commenced for the interment of his late Majesty, and on Monday morning an intimation was given to some of the residents of Windsor, and the tradesmen of the late King, that they and their families might have a private view, from nine till eleven o'clock, of the state rooms, and also of the coffin, as it stood in the small drawing-room, covered with the pall of state.

There lay all that remained in this world of George IV., not surrounded with appropriate glooms, dim lights, and 'darkness visible;' but in the midst of a splendid apartment, its walls embossed with crimson, and its roof fretted with gold, and the beams of the morning sun were shining brightly on the glittering envelope in which those remains were inclosed. It was placed on a low car, and partially covered with an ample pall of rich velvet which lay in heavy folds around it on the floor; and on either side of it stood one of his late Majesty's most favourite pages, the same who attended him almost constantly, night and day, throughout the long period of suffering which preceded his death.

The preparations for the lying in state were completed on Tuesday night, under the superintendence of Mr. Mash, and the royal coffin was removed from the private chamber in which it had been deposited, and placed under the canopy in the old King's drawing-room, while the silver sconces, escutcheons, and other heraldic ornaments were distributed in their respective situations.

Early on Wednesday morning, Windsor and its approaches displayed a scene of activity, of which they are the theatre on such a rare occasion as the deceased monarch lying in state. At the appointed hour, a number of persons of all classes had assembled in the lower court of the castle; but if the arrangements could have permitted it, it is to be regretted that the business was not so managed as to have the whole of the works concluded before any portion of the public was admitted to the lying in state. The whole object was to be imposing and solemn, the public felt that it was so, and showed by their behaviour that they were desirous, as far as they were concerned, to add to the decorous observance of those feelings which are supposed to be attributable to the occasion. But the unfinished state of a certain portion of the preparations was necessarily a sad drawback to the countenance of those feelings, however well disposed the minds of the public might be. The boisterous bandying to and fro of contradictory orders, is but poorly calculated to assist at such a solemnity, and the sound of the carpenter's hammer is no better a companion to the seriousness of the occasion.

Shortly after ten o'clock the iron gate was thrown open, and all persons indiscriminately admitted. The scene at this moment was by no means one of that solemnity befitting the occasion—the chimney-sweep and the bricklayer in their working dresses were seen pressing through the crowd, or overleaping the barriers; while the screams of the females, and the rude and indecent jokes of the blackguards, gave the whole scene more the appearance of a crowd hastening to some raree-show, than to the chamber of death. The official order required all persons to appear in decent mourning, but there appeared to be a predominant feeling not to mourn at all, and it was only in the immediate presence of the body that the majority of the countenances put on a lugubrious show. The way to the chamber of death led across the magnificent terrace, and whoever has paced it in the good olden times when George III. paraded it with his fine family, may form some idea of the effect so contrary produced, by the thought that a few moments more would conduct you to the chamber where lay, in the last gaudy trappings of mortality, the remains of a deceased monarch. The

day was one of unclouded sunshine; and while numbers pressed on to the goal of their melancholy curiosity, not a few lingered by the parapet wall of the terrace to enjoy the richly variegated scenery of the subjacent landscape. The grand features of the prospect are too well known to require quotation, yet probably never did we contemplate them with greater interest. To linger on such an occasion, and contrast the never-ending luxuriance of nature, with the frailty and perishable trappings of art, were, indeed, no unseemly association with the memory of England's proudest monarch.

The state apartment in which the body lay was fitted up with suitable and solemn grandeur—the richness of the purple canopy—the superbness of the coffin and its costly covering—the pall—the splendid masses of bright and flaming hues from the golden drapery of the royal standard—the crowns and heralds' uniforms—imparted a death-like and spectral paleness to the heads of the household mourners which had an intensely interesting effect. The mourners stood perfectly motionless, and like statues upon a sepulchre. The atmosphere of the apartment rose at times to a stifling heat. It was the chamber of mortality and woe. The public passed through in one continuous stream, from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon. They moved along in a slow, stately pace; the murmur of breathing, or the rustle of the sable suit being scarcely heard in any of the avenues of the apartment. The pageant and its paraphernalia reminded us of one that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, when he says,

'The pomp of death is more terrible than death itself.'

The regress for the public was by St. George's Tower, whence we emerged, as it were from a fit of lurid melancholy, to enjoy the refreshing beauties of the Park scenery.

To describe all the preliminary arrangements of the funeral would far exceed our limits; all, therefore, which we shall attempt will be such a narrative of the splendid ceremony, as may hereafter be referred to as an event of history.

On the morning of the funeral, a party of artillery, with twelve nine-pounders, arrived from Woolwich and bivouacked under the trees of the Long Walk. At four o'clock on Thursday morning they commenced firing, and continued to fire

every five minutes during the day. The road from London to Windsor was a full tide of busy life; whilst thousands from the towns and villages around halted thus far in their pilgrimage to the tomb of royalty. The town itself bore any thing but a just import of gloom. As the day advanced, the wheels fo carriages, and the to and fro anxiety of the people almost induced us to disregard the mournful bells and guns. Before noon the town of Windsor felt all the profit and some of the discomfort of ten or twelve thousand people squeezed into a place not capable of comfortably accommodating as many hundreds. The group resembled more the characters of a masquerade, than spectators hastening to a funeral; white plumed field-officers and their aid-de camps, paupers, and professional pickpockets, heralds and pursuivants in their gorgeous tabards, gentlemen pensioners in all the pride of gold lace and black crape, and the party-coloured multitude of the middle classes mixed up in admirable confusion.

William IV. and his Queen arrived at Frogmore soon after mid-day, and at seven o'clock, escorted by a party of the life-guards and horse-guards blue, he proceeded in state to the Castle. The Queen did not accompany him.

It was announced in the early part of the day that the entrance to the north aisle would not be opened till six o'clock in the afternoon. Soon after five the crowd of ladies and gentlemen waiting for admission was very considerable, and every moment obtaining large accessions. We need scarcely observe that it was composed almost exclusively of persons of perfect respectability, and in many instances of rank and fashion; all, of course, were in the deepest mourning, and attired, for the most part, in evening costume—the ladies remaining for nearly an hour in the open air with uncovered heads. The weather was fortunately very fine.

Previously to the opening of the door, the Duke of Wellington passed through the crowd, and was very cordially greeted. He was apparently much fatigued, jaded, 'travel stained,' and dusty, forming a remarkable contrast to his appearance in the evening, in a field-marshal's uniform, blazing with orders. Before the appointed hour arrived, several hundreds were assembled at the place of ingress, and as the numbers were

augmented, the clamour for admission increased. The barrier nearest to the door was insufficient in height, and even had it not been defective in that particular, it had not strength to resist the pressure of a multitude, numerous, eager, and we may add, ungovernable. The moment the slightest note of preparation intimated that the time of opening the door was at hand, the pressure from the outskirts became tremendous; but those nearest to the barrier appeared resolved not to endure it long; they immediately scrambled over the slight paling. Even the ladies did not scruple to display their graceful proportions, their agility, and their courage, in mounting the imperfect obstacle opposed to the rush, from which all suffered more or less—the gentlemen chiefly, in consequence of the anxiety which the situation of the ladies under their protection naturally excited. The barrier once cleared, a new struggle was commenced, the passage only admitting one person at a time. Though no one was actually borne down by the crowd, yet the suffering on the part of the females was intense. The incessant cries of 'Pray bear back!' 'I shall be crushed to death!' &c. &c. were heard from every quarter. As the multitude gained ground, and poured in with redoubled energy, the screams of distress, and fright, and pain, became more and more frequent, yet happily neither lives were lost nor limbs broken; but several ladies fainted, and many were compelled to give expression to their sufferings in a very audible manner; all, however got their respective places in the north aisle long before seven, and soon acquired their wonted composure, satisfaction beaming in their countenances at the thought of having attained the object of their earnest desire, at an expense, now that it was over, which appeared to be comparatively trifling —indeed, had it not been for the sable habiliments which were worn, without an exception, the assemblage might have been considered one collected together upon some joyous festival, rather than upon any such imposing and melancholy solemnity as the funeral of a great monarch. The hum of voices engaged in loud and animated conversation, continued for some time, but sank by slow degrees in a low murmur, and before the approach of the procession, was hushed into the deepest silence. We understand that only one thousand tickets were

for the north aisle; but judging from the appearance presented by that part of the chapel, we should suppose that the numbers admitted there must have much exceeded twelve hundred. A considerable number were also accommodated in the organ gallery, which, perhaps, was the most favourable situation for viewing the splendid pageant; for in some points it commanded not only the whole length of the procession, but the interior of the choir, in which the chief and most imposing part of the ceremony took place.

The time appointed for the funeral procession to commence was nine o'clock, but long before that time the crowd grew more indifferent than impatient, and some of them, by their conversation, evinced a levity of feeling which was neither creditable to their heads nor their hearts. In fact, the whole demeanour of the people betokened rather an inclination to be joyous and merry than mournful and sad.

For a considerable time the people and the soldiery seemed to forego their expectations of witnessing the procession, and began to indulge in much conversation. We listened to this with great attention, both as it went on among the soldiers and amongst the spectators, but it was altogether confined to an expression of curiosity, or some commonplace jokes. We did not hear any one word of praise of his late Majesty, nor one syllable of regret. Much was said of the procession; many conjectures were formed as to the ceremony; but as to him in whose honour it was supposed to be all got up, not one word was said. The show interested the people, the dead King was an object of complete indifference. At length, rather before it grew dark, flambeaux were distributed among the soldiery, and lighted, so as to increase the effect of the contrast between their martial uniforms and the black cloth around them. The people, too, mounted on the railings by the sides of the soldiers, and looking down over their heads into the middle of the platform, increased the interest of the scene. At length the discharge of a rocket and the change in the firing of the guns—the report of which was distinctly heard—announced the beginning of the procession. Shortly afterwards slow and solemn music was heard at a distance, the bell of St. George's chapel began to toll, and all eyes were directed to the upper

THE ROYAL MAUSOLEUM AT FROGMORE

H. George III. Q. Queen Charlotte. D. Duke of Kent. Princess Victoria. Duke of Sussex.
G. Duchess of Gloucester. Princess Sophia. Princess Augusta.

part of the platform. In a few minutes the glittering dress of the knights marshals' men and of the military band, as they moved slowly forward, came into view. The music approached, and became more distinct, more solemn, and more affecting.

The procession began to move from the Castle about a quarter before nine, and at a quarter before ten it entered the choir, and immediately the various heralds busied themselves, with distinguished activity and success, in marshalling the several individuals who formed the procession, and assigning to each his allotted position. The banners that were placed at the corners and sides of the canopy, under which the coffin was placed, were borne by Lords Verulam, Errol, Cathcart, &c. The Duke of Wellington was on the right of his Majesty, bearing the sword of state. In their respective places were the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex, Prince Leopold, and Prince George of Cumberland. The Knights of the Garter took their places in their respective stalls, on the south side of the choir; the Bishops on the north side; the two Archbishops, Canterbury and Armagh, were seated in stalls on the south side of the western entrance. The burial service was, for the greater part, chanted, and the anthem sung with splendid effect. Nothing could be more sublime or touching than was the whole of the service.

As is already well known to those who have been accustomed to read accounts of royal funerals, there is to the east of St. George's chapel, a building called Cardinal Wolsey's Tomb-House, underneath which is a grand mausoleum built by George III., and exclusively appropriated to royalty. Already have been deposited within its melancholy precincts not only the remains of the long-lived monarch by whom it was built, but those of his royal consort. Those also amongst his offspring towards whom he was wont to manifest peculiar affection were amongst its earliest tenants—the Duke of York, the Princess Amelia, &c. &c. It also contains the remains of the Princess Charlotte and her infant, besides the Princes Alfred, Octavius, and other members of the royal family. On the present memorable occasion, the eldest son and successor of the royal founder was to be added to the number of those whose remains occupied a place within its sacred walls. A subterranean pas-

sage leads from the choir of St. George's chapel to the mausoleum. The entrance to this passage is through an opening in the floor. Immediately over this opening there was placed a superb canopy of dark purple velvet, surmounted with a colossal representation of the imperial crown. The plate of the Chapel Royal was brought down for the occasion, and, added to that of St. George's chapel, formed the grandest collection of massive gold plate that could be conceived.

At half past ten o'clock the coffin was lowered by machinery into the passage leading to the royal vault, where it was received on a platform, as represented in our engraving, and upon which it was allowed to remain even after the ceremony was ended.

At five minutes to eleven o'clock, the whole of what fell to the officiating clergymen and choristers was concluded, and his Majesty, who appeared much affected during the whole ceremony, retired through the door leading to the royal closet. Sir George Nayler proclaimed the style and various titles of his late Majesty, and thereupon the distinguished personages present quitted the chapel, without any regard to the order in which they entered it, and, therefore, not forming any returning procession. Sir George Nayler concluded his proclamation with the words, 'God save King William IV.,' a rocket was let off, and the band outside played 'God save the King.'

The effect of the funeral is variously related; but the prevalent opinion, in which we can join without any sacrifice of feeling on our part, is, that it fell short of public expectation. The whole of the day was, in fact, more observed as a jubilee than as one of mourning; and if the demeanour of the people is to be considered as forming any criterion of the opinion which was entertained by them of their late Sovereign, it was any thing but one of veneration, respect, or esteem for his memory.

If future ages mention his name with reverence, and consider his achievements as doing honour to humanity, we know not where to look for the deeds which must justify their applause. His character, neither as a public nor private individual, will demand honour from mankind, on the ground that he was endued with exalted feelings—that he was stre-

nuous in the performance of the great duties of his station—that, as a ruler of the people, he was frugal, just, and laborious—that he made private yield to public convenience—that he was great in intellectual power, and possessed of the knowledge requisite for the head of a great nation—that, sedulously careful of the public weal, he devoted his hours to constant study, so that he might acquire all such lights as improving science daily produced—and, finally, that in his private life he set a bright example of self-restraint—adherence to duty—of elegant and elevated tastes. These are *not* the sources from whence George IV. deserves, or will deserve, applause. If posterity award approbation to his memory, the task of discovering the grounds on which it is to rest may be well left to their labour and ingenuity.

If in any part of this work we may be accused of having dipped our pencil in colours too dark and severe, or that by our exhibition we have called royalty into dispute, we hesitate not to declare, that, abstractedly speaking, we place no value upon royalty—and that if the actions of royalty tend to the injury of the country, to the demoralization of the people, to the infraction of all the most solemn and binding duties of social life—if royalty sets an example of boundless extravagance, of debauchery, of profligacy, and of adultery, we will not be the pliant slave to smother their acts, although divinity may hedge them in, and the accessaries to their crimes, the minions of their vices, may threaten us with their power.

We have been gravely told, that we have no right to delineate a character but from well authenticated facts, nor to draw any inferences of the motive of the actions which are unknown by those which are known. We deny the position *in toto*, for we consider that when all that is known of a man's acts is for the most part marked deviations from duty, the historian or the biographer is justified in supposing that the unknown conduct is in accordance with the known; and we further consider, that no one is justified in calling in question that supposition by a mere surmise to the contrary. If it can be shown, not merely surmised, that the conduct of the late King, which intervened between the acts recorded in this work, was not simply harmless, but absolutely in direct opposition to that in

which we have founded our opinion; then, but not till then, shall we be willing to acknowledge that these grave derelictions from duty are not deserving of the severe rebuke which, under the present circumstances, they so richly merit, and also to allow that the character which those derelictions now justify must, in a great measure, be differently drawn. But where is the evidence thus potent—thus all-conclusive; and how has it happened that such blazing instances of merit have been so long hidden from the world? If, however, none such can be discovered; if, in examining closer, we find that where open and absolute violation of established morality was not practised, there existed low debauchery, debasing indulgencies, vain and haughty insolence of demeanour, and an overweening self-estimation, we have little to induce us to believe that the small portion of the royal life not yet laid bare to public inspection, would do credit to the late King, or add much support to the too-willing eulogium of his admirers.

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